

FOR some years past the author has been collecting passages from responsible and authoritative German speeches and writings illustrating the real character of Nazidom. It will serve a useful purpose in showing clearly and beyond question what the Nazi dogmas and practices are and it will also prove a good antidote to any Poor-old-friendly-Germans-misled-by-gangsters' attitude. This book shows how Nazi doctrines have been bred into the very bones of the German people and, as one literary critic has said, it makes an interesting supplement to works like Lord Vansittart's *Black Record*.

Lord Zetland writes:—

"Here, verily, are winged words; for no more damning indictment of the Nazi creed is possible—proceeding, as it does, out of the mouths of its hierophants themselves."

H.E. Dr. Wellington Koo:—

"Most interesting; it gives a composite picture of thoughts and beliefs, the ideas and ideals, the aspirations and ambitions of the Nazi hierarchy in Germany. I think its publication at this juncture will serve a very useful purpose in helping the public to understand and realise the purport of Nazi aggression in the West."

Mr. H. G. Wells writes:—

"The freedom of India lies with the Anglo-Soviet alliance and the Chinese. If any Indian doubts it, let him read this excellent little book."

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THE MIND AND FACE
OF NAZI GERMANY

THE MIND AND FACE OF NAZI GERMANY

AN ANTHOLOGY SELECTED AND EDITED

BY N. GANGULEE, C.I.E., PH.D.

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WITH A FOREWORD

BY EDWARD BENEŠ

PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

Kein Volk kann sich seinem Schicksal entziehen.

(No people can escape their own fate.)

ADOLF HITLER, *May Day, 1937.*

*

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FOR
THOSE WHO STILL ASK :
‘ *Whither Germany ?* ’

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I AM deeply grateful to Dr. Edward Beneš, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, for contributing a Foreword to this book. As successor to Masaryk, his name has been associated with our present struggle for democratic ideals ; and coming from him, this Foreword, I am convinced, will carry much weight.

The extracts from Dr. Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythos* which has not yet been translated into English are taken largely from the publications of *Friends of Europe*. The extracts from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* are taken from the unexpurgated English edition.

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N. G.

FOREWORD

THE present war is essentially a world revolution, perhaps even more so than the Great War of 1914-1918. The revolutionary character of the conflict, which in its direct and indirect consequences affects the whole globe, was caused by the armed opposition of the Axis powers to International Law as accepted by the majority of civilized countries. Pan-Germanism, with its political philosophy that *might is right*, was the leading ideology in the last war: now it is merely absorbed into the more brutal theories of the Hitler creed.

Perhaps there is one good point about the Nazi world view: it is very explicit in the statement of its doctrines and aims. When the so-called Bible of German National Socialism was first published, people regarded its arrogant principles of German superiority and the natural right of the Germans to dominate other European nations as too absurd to be taken seriously. Europe, to its cost, has under-estimated the menace hidden in the ideology of the followers of Nazism. In the midst of the deadly struggle which Britain, the Soviet Union and America, together with the other Allied nations, is waging, it is essential that we should learn more fully the kind of aspirations for which the enemy stands. It helps the democratic front to a better understanding of the sub-human motives of the German aggressors and at the same

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time to an examination of the ideals of freedom and international brotherhood for which we are fighting in defence of fundamental human rights.

This is a total war, in which everyone is personally participating in the struggle for common victory. All of us should be acquainted with the spiritual make-up of the hostile nations. Professor N. Gangulee has made a valuable contribution towards the enlightenment of the popular reader by preparing this anthology on *The Mind and Face of Nazi Germany*. Here the Nazi leaders, including Hitler, Göring, Goebbels and Rosenberg, present their antiquarian gospel of malignant tyranny, and preach the annihilation of Christian culture as developed in the previous centuries. Nazis here present their case themselves in a kaleidoscopic exposition of their guiding principles, desires and interests which testifies to the depth of decay of German mentality. The numerous quotations from the speeches, interviews and literary works of the rulers of the Third *Reich* speak for themselves: Nazi Germany has completely abandoned the language of decent humanity. Their strongest argument is the reasoning of sword and guns, by which they will ultimately perish.

Professor Gangulee's work is worthy of careful study. Those readers who cannot give much time to the reading of long books on political subjects may find in this volume many suggestions for meditation. Confronted with the feeble moral foundations of Nazi Germany, they will rejoice the more in their own classical humanitarian tradition.

EDWARD BENEŠ.

PREFACE

THIS anthology of excerpts from the writings, speeches and slogans of leaders of Nazi Germany arose from copious notes I have been collecting since 1937 with the intention of writing a critical survey of the crisis in Western civilization. Owing to various circumstances I was not able to carry out the plan, and now the fog of war has blurred the horizon and made such a task inopportune.

But I feel, judging from the discussions on war aims, conditions of peace, plans for 'new order in Europe,' etc., that the nature of the forces which have entrenched themselves in Europe, particularly in Germany, is not adequately realized. There is rather restricted, if not confused, understanding of the inner meaning of National Socialism. The Western democracies regarded the growth of its ideology with tacit approval, for the Nazi Germany appeared to them as a powerful bulwark against the rising proletariat movement in Europe. Both England and France therefore adopted a policy of appeasement in the hope of conciliating Germany in her demand for the revision of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. Both deprecated any division of Europe into antagonistic ideological camps. Even at the outbreak of the war, it was declared that the Allies were fighting the Nazi régime and not the German nation which had only been misled by Adolf Hitler and his

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Party. All this connotes a superficial understanding of the forces which dominate Nazi Germany. The truth is, a new period of Armageddon has descended upon Europe, which is rooted not merely in conflicting political and economic interests, but in a positive revolt against Reason, Enlightenment and Cultural values of mankind.

Germany is the heart of Europe. For the diagnosis of European crisis which recurrently precipitates Armageddon, as well as for the establishment of 'new order,' it is of utmost importance that one should have a clear comprehension of the concepts of culture and civilization, which permeate the state and the people of Germany to-day.

Oswald Spengler, the famous German historian, interpreted historical process as the struggle between 'cultural areas.' According to him the will for possession and power has always been the real dynamic force in history, and he therefore glorifies man as 'a beast of prey.' The cult of violence is the basic ideology which should dispense with all others, and its adoption can alone create a militant nation.

This view, which is the quintessence of Prussianism, is in full accord with the meaning and purpose of National Socialism. If the Nazi Party found its strength in the spirit of Prussianism, the exponents of that spirit found in the methods of the Party an effective means of leading the German people to accept blind submission to authority. The rise of National Socialism does not really represent any new ideology, but it is a nation-wide movement for the revival and maintenance of autocratic and military traditions of Germany. 'The principle which in its time,' writes Hitler, 'made the Prussian Army the most wonderful

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instrument of the German people must at some future time be the decisive principle of the construction of our whole conception of the state.'

Thus, the National-Socialist Germany is not concerned solely with any kind of rational basis for establishing social order or a political system. Her leaders ask the German people to be strong by virtue of what the Führer calls the nation's 'more savage will-power.' The German people must be race-conscious; they must have an abiding faith in the myth of 'blood and soil', and once they succeed in building up 'a community of living beings, physically and mentally of the same species,' the Nordic-German race would be victorious in the interest of a higher civilization. The state laws must conform to the ideal of preserving and maintaining 'the racial characteristics' of the entire German people (*Volkstum*). 'History and vocation no longer consist,' writes Alfred Rosenberg, 'in struggle of class against class, church dogma against dogma, but in struggle between blood and blood, race and race, people and people. And this means: values of soul come in conflict with values of soul. Therefore history of that conflict must be judged from the point of view of race.' Thus, racial myth which is made 'the dogma of a religious creed' is conceived in order to foster an emotional psychosis, a natural outcome of which has been anti-semitism.

Perhaps the most cynical by-product of the racial myth is the messianic mission of the superior German-Nordic race. That race has been and must be the creator and bearer of civilization, and therefore Germany is to be 'the leading land of Nordic humanity.' In order to fulfil this mission Germany of National Socialism must direct her life, her institutions and

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her laws in obedience to that conception of the State which maintains 'authority of every leader downwards and responsibility upwards.' This means briefly the application of the Leader Principle (*Führerprinzip*) and the creation of the Leader state (*Führerstaat*).

The first business of the National Socialists was to formulate a Party programme, and the second to set up concrete organizations for the purpose of regimenting the entire German people according to Party directions. The State Labour Service, the Hitler-Youth, the Order of German Women, the League of German Girls, the Nazi German Students' League, the 'Strength through Joy' organization, the Fighting League for German culture and various regional institutions came into being for the purpose of bringing the national feeling to a tremendous pitch. It was necessary to destroy Trade Unions, to suppress the free press and to abolish organizations which represented the Christian character of the culture of the Western civilization. Through the process of mass-hypnosis of propaganda, the German people were kept in a state of anæsthesia. All this made rational criticism impossible and thus within a short period of less than a decade, Oswald Spengler's thesis—that intellectualism is a 'weed of the pavement,' that the will for possession and power has always been the real dynamic force in history, that justice, happiness, peace are dreams of bankrupt intellect—became the philosophy of life of the German people. Everything was directed to a single end—War.

Germany is industrially and technologically the most advanced in Europe and one should appreciate her achievements in the sphere of social and economic reconstruction carried out under extremely difficult

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circumstances. But when we see the primacy of race, the cult of German-Nordic messiahship, anti-semitism, concentration camps, the destruction of civil liberties, a régime of violence and above all the spirit of Prussianism so deeply rooted in her ideology, our sympathy is alienated. We regard the Nazi State as the most reactionary and its ideal 'anti-social'. It is now becoming all too clear to us that so long as Germany proclaims violence as the central creed of her political philosophy; so long as the notion of race-purity, based upon what Herr Hitler calls the 'iron logic of nature,' runs through her inter-racial relations; so long as her statecraft defies all moral values and insults humanity, Germany must remain an irreconcilable enemy of civilization. The National-Socialist Party, which is the German *Reich*, is essentially intolerant and demands 'its own, exclusive and unstinted recognition as well as the complete transformation of public life in accordance with its own views.' Its leaders declare that the attack on the democratic spirit is merely 'the opening act of a development the end of which will be a National-Socialist Europe.'

It is obvious that this Nazi attitude to life and society is opposed not only to the 'pacifist-humanist' ideals of the Western democracies, but to Christianity. 'Back to our native German faith' is the cry of the German-Nordic religion. 'Christianity,' wrote Heine, 'has occasionally calmed the brutal German lust for battle, but it cannot destroy that savage ecstasy. . . . When once that restraining talisman, the Cross, is broken . . . the old stone gods will leap to life among forgotten ruins, and Thor at last will crash down his mighty hammer on the Gothic 'Cathedrals.' In the section of the anthology where I give a representative

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collection of views of the leaders of the German-Nordic Faith Movement, the reader may find a confirmation of Heine's prophecy. The core of the religious problem is not the conflict between Church and State, but it lies in the growth of a new paganism menacing not only the foundations of Church but repudiating all values inherent in Christianity. It is Christendom that must be brought to an end.

The meaning and purpose of the National-Socialist Germany must therefore be this : to challenge the concept of humanity because it abolishes the distinctions of quality between races ; to repudiate the democratic conception of a community because it abolishes the distinctions of quality between individuals ; and to make the entire German people race-conscious, not only for its survival, but for the fulfilment of the world mission of the German-Nordic race. Hence the necessity for militarism. Hence Nietzsche's hero, the ' blond beast,' must rise in readiness for relentless struggle.

However, the main reproach against Germany is not her fanatical anti-semitism or her official doctrine of race and blood reduced to a ' grotesque piece of unscientific balderdash ' ; nor can one have any quarrel with the doctrines of National Socialism so far as they are related to programmes for social and economic rehabilitation of the German nation. Dictatorship may even be a suitable political form for Germany, but what is ominous is the spirit of Prussianism which repudiates the civilized ideals of life, culture and society. With its well-known slogan ' guns instead of butter,' Prussianism stands revealed as a cynical force arraying itself in barbaric monstrosity. It challenges the idea of human dignity by setting itself

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against liberty of thought, belief and religion. It arrogates the right of replacing the civilized inheritance of mankind by power (*Machtmittel*), by that force-myth from which the main principle of statecraft is derived. Prussianism, which, according to Spengler, is a 'living idea' in German-Nordic race, has therefore become a menace to the very soul of civilization. To affirm that a particular race, through its dynamic strength, has a permanent and unique function in civilization to-day is to deny both the idea of progress and the creative function of reason. The triumph of such an assertion would, indeed, mean a total frustration of all civilized standards of international conduct.

About Nazi Germany and its policy enough is known and enough has been written. Books, reports, pamphlets, etc., contain abundant material for a correct appraisal of the situation in Germany since the rise of Adolf Hitler. But I believe the Man in the Street is not fully conversant with the manifold aspects of the ideology of National Socialism. It is for him that I have taken the trouble to compile this anthology of Nazi Germany. Here he may find in a nutshell the aims, the aspirations, the arrogance and the absurdities of Nazi outlook upon life and society. Here he may note the striking character of Nazi philosophy of political life. Here he may also trace certain features of the conflict between Germany and the Western Democracies, which constitute a challenge to all that is dear to him—fundamental human rights, dignity of personality, liberty of thought, freedom of speech, the Christian tradition, the humanitarian ethics, the intellectual and moral basis of the international relations, etc.

In preparing this anthology I have confined myself

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solely to authoritative statements of the exponents of Nazi Germany and have divided the extracts into ten sections, each illustrating an aspect of this Teutonic nationalism which has eventually precipitated a 'war against the West.' In arranging these extracts I have aimed at giving a certain unity which makes them clear and coherent.

I trust that this book may reach a wide public in all civilized countries and that it may serve as a constant reminder not only of the basic factors underlying the present Armageddon but also of the problems that will have to be faced in bringing about a 'new order' in Europe.

N. GANGULEE.

LONDON,

August, 1941.

I

THE FÜHRER-SAVIOUR

. . . AND then unto us was born a child in Braunau.

RUDOLF HESS.

There has arisen a new authority as to what Christ and Christianity really are—Adolf Hitler. Adolf Hitler . . . is the true Holy Ghost.

THE REICH MINISTER FOR
CHURCH AFFAIRS.

We heard His voice while Germany slept. . . . His hand has made us a nation again ; his hand has led us back to the Fatherland. . . . Our nation and our country will remain even if we die. United we stand for Germany . . . we are the standard-bearers of a New Age . . . we are soldiers who ask no questions and we are ever ready to serve. We serve God in that we serve our nation on this earth. . . . Our whole life we dedicate to the Führer.

GOEBBELS, at the annual Party
rally in Nuremberg, 1934.

God has manifested Himself not in Jesus Christ but in Adolf Hitler.

DR. ENGELKE, German Christian : reported in
the *Manchester Guardian*, July 15th, 1938.

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When he speaks to us Germans, he takes each one of us by the hand, and, thread by thread, he disentangles our confusions till no obscurities remain. . . . So it is that, when the Führer has spoken, every man of you thinketh that it is to him that he hath spoken. . . . If thou knowest one thing of a surety, it is this : thou canst tell everything to the Führer, and he will always understand. But there is a second thing of which thou shouldst be as certain : thou canst not in anything deceive him, for he can see into thy heart. . . . Where thou wast neglectful, the Führer has taken upon himself thy share of duty : where thou didst take thine ease he has borne thy share of toil and sacrifice : where thou wast sullen, and perchance art still at times sullen, the Führer has no respite, and will know none. . . . Can we imagine a Germany without the Führer ? . . . When his name is sounded, history is swallowed up, for he has gathered all German history in himself. He is the soul of Germany made flesh.

Völkischer Beobachter, 1941 :
reported in *The Times*.

We believe in this world in Adolf Hitler alone . . . we believe that the Lord God has sent us Adolf Hitler, that Germany should be established for all eternity.

DR. LEY in his 'Schulungsbrief.'

In later centuries, when one will have a true measure of things as they are to-day, it will be said : 'Christ was great, but Adolf Hitler was greater.'

WILHELM BECKER, Speech.

In the past we used to say : this is right or that is wrong. And now we only ask—what would the Führer

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say? This attitude towards him is the 'categorical imperative' to which German life must henceforward conform. We are under the great obligation of recognizing as a holy mission of our *Volk's* spirit the laws signed by Adolf Hitler's name. Hitler has received his authority from God. Therefore he is a champion, sent by God, for German right in the world.

H. FRANK, Speech, October 1935.

Somewhere in this vast bulwark of German men, there stood one who, unknown, like the countless others, and brave as so many others were brave, was destined to write his name in the eternal book of history as the Saviour of the German people, the man who was to consummate her solidarity and unity. That man was Adolf Hitler.

GÖRING : *Germany Reborn*, 1934.

Germany is our task ; Jesus is our strength. As for every other people, so for ours God has provided a law suited to our kind (*Arteigenes Gesetz*). It has taken shape in the Leader Adolf Hitler and in the National Socialist State shaped by him. This law speaks to us in the history of our people, which has grown out of blood and soil. Loyalty to this law demands that we fight for honour and freedom.

German Christians' Confessions, 1933. From
PROFESSOR D. K. DIETRICH SCHMIDT'S *Die Beken-
nisse des Jahres*, 1933.

You, whom God sent to the Germans,
Great solitary man,
Whom they neglected too long,
Until, far too late,

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They made you their Leader,
To their heart's content.
You are Duke of the Germans,
Saviour of our Reich
And of every one of the people.

HEINRICH ZILlich.

You are not at all what you were described to me as being, a fanatic. Rather should I call you the direct contrary of a fanatic. A fanatic heats heads, you warm hearts. Fanatics want to overwhelm ; you wish only to convince, to convince, and therefore you succeed. Yes, I would also call you the contrary of a politician in the usual sense of the word, for the axis of all politics is membership of a party whereas in you all parties vanish, consumed in the glow of patriotism. It was, I think, the misfortune of our great Bismarck that he was entangled a little too much in political life by the course of his destiny, though not by native disposition. May you be spared this fate !

You have mighty things to do ; but in spite of your will-power I do not take you for a violent man. You know Goethe's distinction between violence and violence. There is a violence that comes out of and leads back to chaos, and there is a violence whose nature it is to form a cosmos. Of this violence Goethe says : ' It builds up every form with ruling hand, and even at its greatest it is not violence.'

It is in this cosmos-building sense that I wish to count you among the upbuilding, not among the violent men.

. . . That in the hour of her highest need Germany gives birth to a Hitler proves her vitality ; as do the

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influences that emanate from him ; for these two things—personality and influence—belong together. And what a glorious confirmation it is that the splendid Ludendorff should join you openly and adhere to your movement.

HOUSTON S. CHAMBERLAIN to Adolf Hitler,
1923. From Wickham Steed's *Hitler :
Whence and Whither ?*

When the need was greatest God gave the German people a champion, an unknown soldier of the World War, a man from the people, without rank or possessions or connections, a plain, simple man ; but one who had overwhelming genius and greatness of character. A man of the people, Adolf Hitler arose and took German destiny into his clean strong hands and as the herald of German freedom and justice passed through all Germany, appealing, stirring up the people and inflaming their hearts like the incarnation of the German conscience itself. And then for all ardent, expectant Germans it seemed as if the beacon of the hidden Germany had lit up the starless night of hopeless despair. The German heart was found again, and with magic power it drew into itself the noblest blood and poured it out again into the people in countless streams of will and strength.

GÖRING : *Germany Reborn*, 1934.

Adolf Hitler is a universal personality full of genius. There exists no field of human activity, one might say, of which the Leader is not a supreme master. God's creation is ruled by harmony.. Hitler's personality is an expression of this harmony. Only on very rare occasions does a nation acquire a new face. The

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face of the Germans always was heroic. The forehead of the Germans always was intellectual and clever. The heart of the Germans always was brave. The fist of the Germans always was strong.

Henry the Lion and Frederick the Great, our king and hero, were bearers of the same ideas. But none of them did God deem worthy to see the completion of the fight. Adolf Hitler is the creator of German unity.

A National-Socialist Party congress represents the strength and beauty of Germany shining in a thousand suns. The splendour of those who overcame the Liberal state, which had poisoned, through Freemasons and Jews, the soul of the German people, shone from the angular foreheads of the Leader and his loyal followers. And the Leader's eyes shiningly reflected the brilliant enthusiasm of his followers, who were the representatives of the entire German people.

WILHELM KUBE, writing about Nuremberg Party Congress in the *Nazional-Socialist Korrespondenze*.
From *Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 18, 1934.

Our hearts go out to-day to Adolf Hitler who, nameless and unknown, has arisen among us as the visible tool of Providence, and, at a moment when all else had failed, summoned us once more to the path of duty and sacrifice. By his teaching and by his example, he renewed in us the 'faith that moves mountains.' He gave life a new meaning, because he showed us the tasks which God has set us in this world, to forget ourselves and devote our lives to the natural community in which He set us, namely the Nation.

Thanks to him we have become a nation conscious

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of our race, our type, and our nature. We are still fighting the greatest of battles : the battle for the soul of the German people. This battle must end in Victory.

DR. H. KERRL, New Year address, 1936.

For us the upholder of the idea of the German *Reich* is not Charlemagne, but his bitterest opponent, the Saxon Duke Wittekind. The Holy Roman Empire of the German nation is not the precursor of the Third *Reich* founded upon National Socialism. We recognize its precursors in all the great rebels against the First *Reich*. . . . To-day at the turn of another epoch, of a thousand years, we can declare that, if Duke Wittekind was defeated in the eighth century, he has conquered in the twentieth century in the person of Adolf Hitler.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, Speech, 1934.

Hitler's mission is of importance for the history of the whole world, because he took up a war to the death against Communism and therewith raised a bulwark for the other European nations. Many times before in world history have mighty spiritual struggles been decided on German territory. It is our solemn belief that if, in the mighty struggle between Communism and National Socialism, the former had won, then the deadly bacillus would have spread from Communist Germany to the other European countries. The day will come when the other countries will begin to realize this, and on that day France, England and other peoples will be thankful that at the critical moment there was an Adolf Hitler in Germany.

GÖRING : *Germany Reborn*, 1934.

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Germany was living in a sort of Babylonian captivity, in spiritual distress, and moral despair. She was languishing beneath a sort of evil spell, but none of her leaders could find the magic formula with which to unbind the spell. Adolf Hitler found it, and, however the world may judge his qualities as a statesman, it cannot refuse him credit for this prophetic quality.

FRIEDRICH SIEBURG : *Germany : my Country.*

There, at the lighted window of the Palace, stood the aged and venerable Field-Marshal [Hindenburg] and, deeply moved and filled with gladness, looked down upon a people that had become free and happy again. And a few houses farther on, there stood, motionless, the man who had earned the thanks of the whole people—the man who had never weakened in the bitter, unceasing struggle, who had always held the banner firmer when others faltered ; who, through thick and thin, had always remained true to his people—the Leader of the German people, its Chancellor : Adolf Hitler.

And that was the memorable night in which the new German freedom was born.

GÖRING : *Germany Reborn, 1934.*

Who will deny Germany's present Führer the historic merit of having made this national pride, this calm feeling of security, and this manliness the common property of his people ?

VON RHEINBABEN.

He who does not follow the Führer is no longer German.

A Poster.

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We all believe on this earth alone in Adolf Hitler, our leader.

We believe that National Socialism will be the only creed for our people.

We believe that there is a God in Heaven who created us, creates, leads and directs us. He also blesses us.

And we believe that this God sent us Adolf Hitler so that Germany should be a Foundation Stone in all Eternity.

A Poster for Youth Organizations.

The Führer belongs to those who fulfil the Will of God and realize the life of Christ in this life in an extraordinary degree.

DR. D. FABRICUS : *Positive Christianity
in the Third Reich.*

The great error of the previous system of liberalism was to imagine that the people wanted to govern themselves, to lead themselves. No, the people want to be led and to be governed ; and to be true, the people demand one thing : and that is, that their leaders should be possessed with the sacred conviction that all their work and strength must be dedicated solely to the advantage and the good of the people. And the German people know that the longed-for and inspired leader is Adolf Hitler.

GÖRING : *Germany Reborn*, 1934.

They [Germany's workers] realize that Herr Hitler is fighting their own battle and that he, who has sprung from their own ranks, is indeed their Leader. They know that he concerns himself by day and night with the cares of every German. They have therefore

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put their trust in him and support his efforts for the maintenance of social peace within Germany just as keenly as they support those for the maintenance of external peace throughout the world. The Leader's foreign policy aims at international peace, and his home policy has established social justice.

DR. LEY : *Germany Speaks*, 1938.

Everyone who knows the close inner bond between Hitler and his men will understand that for us followers it is axiomatic that the Leader must possess any quality attributed to him in its highest perfection. Just as the Roman Catholic considers the Pope infallible in all matters concerning religion and morals, so do we National Socialists believe with the same inner conviction that for us the Leader is in all political and other matters concerning the national and social interests of the people simply infallible.

Wherein lies the secret of this enormous influence which he has on his followers? Does it lie in his goodness as a man, in his strength of character or in his unique modesty? Does it lie in his political genius; his gift of seeing what direction things are going to take, in his great bravery, or in his unbending loyalty to his followers? I think that, whatever quality one may have in mind, one must nevertheless come to the conclusion that it is not the sum of all these virtues; it is something mystical, inexpressible, almost incomprehensible which this unique man possesses, and he who cannot feel it instinctively will not be able to grasp it at all. For we love Adolf Hitler, because we believe deeply and unswervingly that God has sent him to us to save Germany.

GÖRING : *Germany Reborn*, 1934.

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The day may come when everything breaks in pieces and the rebels foam with rage round you and yell 'Crucify him.' Then we shall stand there like iron and sing and shout 'Hosanna.'

GOEBBELS to Hitler.

From the first moment that I saw and heard him I belonged to him body and soul, and to many of my comrades the same thing has happened. I passionately pledged myself to his service and have followed him unswervingly.

GÖRING.

Our Führer's will is decisive for all Germans—our law and his will are one. The working strength of every man, woman and child within his dominion is power concentrated in our Leader's fist. With that might he forges our destiny.

A Poster.

The collapse of the German people after four and a half years' heroic resistance found us inwardly unprepared. We wrestled with our God and would have despaired had we not possessed within ourselves the longing for freedom and a secret knowledge of the meaning of what happened to Germany. When, indeed, the voice of the nameless and unknown corporal resounded, when Adolf Hitler preached to us that our destiny was not determined from without, but from within, that we must become new men, then there awoke in us the faith that it is not the individual destiny but the duty to the whole—the welding together of the nation in a common will. The nation has turned to the faith which Adolf Hitler preached. We experienced what is in truth freedom for the German

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—not licentiousness, not the French *liberté* but restraint and discipline. This was the Gospel which the Saviour announced 1900 years ago when He taught that the Kingdom of Heaven is within us. . . .

DR. H. KERRL, addressing the *Deutsche Studentenschaft*, 1935.

Great men do not belong to themselves but to the nation, even on private anniversary days. But it is perhaps only justice that the sacrifices they make for the people are repaid to them by the people in love and honour. No mortal has ever been surrounded with as much love and honour as Adolf Hitler, the man of the people.

Just as the Führer lives only for his people, so the German people live only through its Führer, in whom it sees itself personified.

Last year (1935) we wrote that in our attempt properly to honour the greatness and dynamic personality of the Führer we were in danger, nevertheless, of falling behind the tireless record of his accomplishments and the surprises presented by his rapid decisions. The great events of this year have proved that we were right. The true greatness of statesmen is demonstrated not only by their own will for power and specific accomplishments, but by their capacity to feel the deepest desires of their people and give these desires expression. That is true national leadership. It alone constitutes the true essence of democracy. In this purest form democracy has appeared for the first time in history in the person of Adolf Hitler.

DR. OTTO DIETRICH, on the eve of Hitler's birthday celebration in 1936 ; quoted in the *New York Times*.

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My Führer ! Whatever you have done or will do is passionately agreed to not only by the German *Reichstag* but by the whole German people ; for our confidence and faith in you are boundless and eternal.

GÖRING, Speech, 1939.

We are prepared for an acceptable peace and equally determined to fight to the last under the Leader, who for many years has raised up the German people. Shall we be parted from such a Leader at the wish of Great Britain ? It is too monstrous to speak of it. We want peace, but peace at the price of our Leader is not to be thought of. To destroy our Leader is to destroy the German nation. Germany is Hitler and Hitler is Germany

GÖRING, Sept. 1939.

I swear by God this sacred oath, that I will render unconditional obedience to the Leader of the German *Reich* and people, Adolf Hitler, the Commander-in-Chief of the *Wehrmacht* [armed forces] and that I will, as a valiant soldier, at all times be ready to stake my life for this oath.

An Oath by the *Reichswehr*.

What he does is necessary ;
Whatever he does is necessary ;
Whatever he does is successful as in Austria . . .
Thus manifestly the Führer has the divine blessing.

RUDOLF HESS, at Nuremberg, 1938.

We National Socialists know only one fundamental document. It is called *Mein Kampf*. Nothing else is official. There is no fundamental document other than this mighty work.

GÖRING, 1935.

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I like my comrades to yearn for the impossible.
HITLER to Rauschning.

I am no dictator, and never will be a dictator.
HITLER to Rauschning.

You soldiers, you workmen did not lose the war. You were stabbed in the back at the very moment of victory. You were betrayed by the Jews and the Bolsheviks. Follow me and I shall lead you to revenge and power.

HITLER, Speech before German
Workers' Party in 1921.

Be assured that I do not look upon the achievement of a position in the Ministry as worth straining for. I do not consider it to be worthy of a great man to be content that his name should merely be recorded in history as having been a Minister. The vision that stands before my eyes was of far higher value to me from the very beginning. I wished to be the destroyer of Marxism. I will achieve this task, and once I have done so the title of Minister will be ridiculous in my sight.

As I stood for the first time before Richard Wagner's grave, my heart was filled with pride at the thought that here lay a man who had forbidden that his tombstone should bear the inscription 'Here lies his Excellency Privy Councillor and Music Director Baron Richard von Wagner.' I was proud that this man, like so many other men known to German History, had been content with leaving his name alone to posterity. It was not modesty that caused me to wish to be the 'drummer.' That is the highest, and all the rest is nothing.

HITLER, addressing his Judges
at his trial, 1923.

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Should the Jew, with the help of his Marxist creed, triumph over the peoples of this world, his crown will be the funeral wreath of mankind, and this planet, empty of men, will once again wander through the ether as it did millions of years ago.

Eternal Nature wreaks pitiless vengeance upon the transgressors of her commands.

So to-day I believe that I am acting according to the mind of the Almighty Creator : in beating off the Jew I fight for the work of the Lord.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

Do not remind me of the humble drummer of yesterday, Herr Von Graefe. I am and shall always be the drummer of National Resurrection, but not for you and your ilk.

HITLER.

The First *Reich* was that of Bismarck, the second that of the Versailles Republic, and the third is myself.

HITLER, 1933.

I am ready before history to bear the responsibility for twenty-four hours of the bitterest decision of my life, during which Fate has taught me, in anxious worry, to cling with every thought of mine to the dearest thing we possess in this world : the German people and the German *Reich*. In this hour I was responsible for the fate of the German nation. Therefore the Supreme Court of the German people was myself.

HITLER, *Reichstag* Speech, 1934.

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I have proved by my life that I am more competent than the dwarfs, my predecessors, who brought this country to destruction.

HITLER, Speech, 1938.

S.A. Men ! Your virtues and your courage have saved Germany. You deserve the highest reward. Once the spirit which inspires you has gripped the whole German people, Germany will become invincible. You were true to me. Hence, I promise you again : I will be true to you to the last drop of my blood.

HITLER, a broadcast message to the Brown Army, 1933.

My honour counts just as much as the honour of any other statesman. I am not a usurper, but have been elected by the German people, and I shall remain by the will of the people. If I have done wrongly, then I shall ask God Almighty to strike me down.

HITLER, Speech, 1936.

Providence has ordained that I should be the greatest liberator of humanity. I am freeing men from the restraints of an intelligence that has taken charge ; from the dusty and degrading self-mortifications of a chimera called conscience and morality, and from the demands of a freedom and personal independence which only a very few can bear. To the Christian doctrine of the infinite significance of the individual human soul and of personal responsibility, I oppose with icy clarity the saving doctrine of the nothingness and insignificance of the individual human being, and of his continued existence in the visible immortality

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of the nation. . The dogma of vicarious suffering and death through a divine saviour gives place to that of the representative living and acting of the new Leader-legislator, which liberates the mass of the faithful from the burden of freewill.

HITLER to Rauschnig.

We are witnessing the greatest miracle in history. A genius is building a new world.

GOEBBELS, 1941.

Born among a people whose hoarding instincts, whose passion for money, was greater than any other feeling, the Son of Man realized that His most bitter enemy was greed. And He who was peace and gentleness personified, was known only once to have become violent. That was the day when He was confronted in the Temple by sordid mobs of money-lenders and pedlars squabbling and grabbing. In His tremendous anger and great loathing He overturned the tables and then took up the whip to drive out these petty men with their possessions.

How can one then blame another man, a simple, honest but mortal man, for doing the same thing 1900 years after in 1933?

The Jews never forgave the Apostle of Charity for that day in the Temple. The same greed rose against Him later in the shape of thirty pieces of silver that nailed Him to the Cross. How well these capitalists must have known their own kind, for among Christ's very disciples they were able to tempt Judas to betray his Master with thirty pieces of silver. Thirty pieces of silver ! That is what every great ideal is up against.

What can one say of this sorry world when a govern-

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ment whose god is gold is able to buy the servile allegiance of a whole country with their cursed thirty pieces of silver? This is the case of Yugoslavia to-day. Upon hearing of tempting offers and financial aid from two governments whose very souls are nursed on speculation and who think of European countries in terms of pounds and dollars, some mercenary Serbs decided to sacrifice their country for these thirty pieces of silver. When this country had everything to gain by alliance with the strongest nation on earth and everything to lose by her suicidal policy of betraying her pact agreement (surrounded as she is by Germany and nations friendly to Germany), one sees again the hand of the money-lenders and pedlars in the Temple of Jerusalem.

Fortunately there is another hand to take up the whip again and chase these rotten speculators from the base of Europe. That hand is Hitler's and that whip is the strongest army the world has ever known. On this day of Good Friday every German reflects that this time might is right, that charity and the beautiful words 'Love ye and help ye one another' must prevail over the age-old enemy, greed, and its cousin, profiteering and injustice.

Broadcast from Bremen, April 11th, 1941.

II

THE GOAL OF NAZI GERMANY

I BELIEVE in Germany, God's other beloved son, God of himself conceived beneath the Nordic heavens ; born between the Alps and the Sea, suffered under peoples and worshippers of Mammon, libelled, mishandled and impoverished, tortured by devils of all varieties to the gates of hell ; after decades of poverty and misery, it has arisen again from political and national death, ascended into the spiritual and intellectual community of Eckhardt, Bach and Goethe, and sitteth between the great Brother of Nazareth to the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Thence it shall come in its sacred character to judge those alive and dead.

Version of the Apostles' Creed which was published in Berlin, Jan. 25th, 1938.

. . . a purged and purified Germany arose to its divinely-appointed rank. For God does not wish that there should be slaves.

GÖRING.

Those fallen in the war are the victims of the catastrophic end of an epoch which had lost all its values, but at the same time they are . . . the martyrs of a new dawn, of a new faith.

The blood that perished is coming to life again. In

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its mystical sign, the soul of the German people is renewing its life-cells. Past and present suddenly appear in a new light and for the future there is a new mission. The meaning of history and the tasks of the future no longer lie in the fight of one class against the other, or of one church dogma against another, but in the settlement between blood and blood, race and race, nation and nation. And this means : the fight for spiritual values.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

In the beginning was Action, that is, not arbitrary action but an action that has sprung from the axiomatic essence of German man, from his Logos, from his Idea, and was executed by the Leader of the German people. . . . From the wedlock of Logos and Life, of Idea and Existence there arises the New Realm—the Teutonic Empire of Germanic Nation. And this Realm is destined to open up a new *Æon*.

In the original idea and reality of *Reich*, the substance—determined by birth and fate—of the Teutono-Germanic people forms an indissoluble union, an eternal alliance, with the Divine essence manifesting itself in Cosmic law. This is *Reich*. So may the question, "*Was ist deutsch?*" be answered.

PROFESSOR H. HEYSE, quoted in *The War against the West* by Aurel Kolnai.

The German *Reich* is the home of the Germans. Its political principle is the formation of a homogeneous national state, embracing all belonging to Germanic race. It involves the expulsion of Jews and non-Germans from all responsible positions in public life. None but Germans in perfect harmony

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with the spirit and destiny of Germany may enjoy rights of citizenship. The nation must be made efficient by permitting every German to serve and bear arms in a national army under the command of a highly-trained corps of professional officers.

The form of state most suitable to the German character is sovereign control united in a central personal power. The creation of a unified national state, embracing all branches of the Germanic race means that all of German blood, whether living under French, Danish, Polish, Czech or Italian sovereignty, shall be united in a German *Reich*. . . . We claim all the Germans in Czechoslovak Germany, Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, and the League Colony of Austria which succeeded to the old Austria. This demand, however, expressly excludes any tendency towards imperialism ; and it is a simple and natural demand which any strong nationality would put forward as its obvious and foremost requirement.

GOTTFRIED FEDER : *The German State*, 1919. .

If the German people in its historical development had gained that herd-like unity, as other peoples have, the German *Reich* would to-day be mistress of the globe. The course of history might then have been different. Perhaps in that case the end might have attained that so many blind pacifists hope to accomplish to-day by weeping and lamentation : a peace supported not by the palm-waving of tearful, pacifist wailing women, but established by the victorious sword of a master-people, conquering the world in the interests of a higher civilization.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*. .

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Whoever is prepared to make the National cause his own to such an extent that he knows no higher ideal than the well-being of his nation ; whoever has really understood our great National Anthem, '*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*,' to mean that nothing in the wide world surpasses in his estimation this Germany, people and land, land and people—that man is a socialist.

HITLER, Speech, 1922.

. . . Germany has been governed for twelve years, not by men opposed to an understanding with France, but by men ready to come to an agreement at any price. The result of these efforts so far has always been negative. The positive consequences are visible to-day in the destruction of German economic life, in the misery of the German people, and in political decay, which now has reached such a state that millions prefer Bolshevism to present conditions.

No serious-minded person in Germany has any liking for the present relations between France and Germany. However, after Germany disarmed herself trusting in promises given, she became the defenceless victim of abuse ; no other nation, in modern history at least, has been subjected to anything like it. . . . Young Germany, which I lead and which finds its expression in the National-Socialist movement, has a very ardent desire to come to a friendly understanding with all other European nations, but has no desire for military alliances . . . it seems to me less important that Germany increase its armament than that France disarm. . . .

But I am convinced that physical disarmament without spiritual disarmament is of no avail. I am

just as much convinced, however, that the spiritual disarmament is hindered rather than furthered by the tremendous French armament at present, which forces everyone else to arm as powerfully, bleeding the people. . . . All in all, I do not believe on principle that the question of Europe's salvation from Bolshevism is one of technical armaments and antiquated military alliances. The European Governments, in my opinion, cannot in their present condition seriously think of even a defensive war with Russia. The states of to-day have trained their armies and soldiers for war with all conceivable weapons. They are familiar with hand grenades, machine-guns, flame-throwers, tanks, aeroplanes, gas . . . and all means of defence against them. However, only one state has also mentally armed and spiritually immunized its people against Bolshevism ; namely, Italy. All other European states possess neither political means of attack nor political gas-masks against Soviet propaganda. The question of overcoming Bolshevism is one of Fascistization of all European states : the European states of to-day, infected with Marxism, cannot resist for long the decomposing influence of this world-plague.

For a fight against Bolshevism particularly, a German-French military convention, in my opinion, should be the last consideration. The most important is to remove from among European countries the curse of the Versailles Treaty, which splits civilized nations and divides them into masters and slaves—and not to create new divisions inside Europe by such limited and one-sided military alliances.

A military convention for the maintenance of a new European status would have . . . meaning only if all great European nations were united in the alliance

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with equal rights—including, however, the United States as well as Japan, at least as far as concerns the proposition of human culture against Bolshevist barbarism. A league eliminating these countries must, I fear, lead to the opposite of the desired end.

HITLER, in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1930.

The last chapter of my life has been the heaviest for me. Many people did not understand that my only anxiety was to lead the disunited, discouraged German people back to the consciousness of their national unity. . . . In doing this I was convinced that constitution of the state and the form of Government which the nation had given itself in the hour of greatest distress and internal weakness did not correspond with the true needs and genius of our people. . . . The *Reichswehr*, the guardian of the state, was to be the symbol and firm foundation for [national] reconstruction. In it had to be as a firm foundation of the state the old Prussian virtues of loyalty to duty, simplicity and comradeship.

In foreign affairs the German people have had to go through an ordeal of suffering. A terrible treaty was oppressing it, and with its increasing effect, threatened to make our nation collapse.

For a long time the world surrounding us did not understand that Germany, not only for her own sake but as the standard-bearer of Western civilization, must be allowed to live for the sake of Europe. Only step by step and without arousing overwhelming resistance were we able to loosen the fetters that bind us. If many an old comrade of mine then did not understand the coercive necessity of this procedure, history will more justly judge how bitter, but how

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necessary were many of the Acts of State signed by me in the interest of maintaining German life.

I thank Providence that it has been permitted me in the evening of my life to experience the hour of renewed strengthening. I thank all those who in selfless love of the Fatherland have co-operated in the work of restoration of Germany. My Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, and his movement have taken a deciding step of historic scope towards the great aim of bringing the German people together to an inner unity which transcends all differences of rank and class. . . .

From HINDENBURG's Political Testament,
May 11, 1934.

The 12th November [1933] has not only shown that forty million Germans are one with the Government ; has not only shown that the overwhelming majority of Germans supports the policy of the Government ; the 12th November has above all shown that Germany has again become decent and honourable. The core of the people is healthy. I believe in my people, and this people will one day show the world that it has taken thought and risen again.

HITLER, Speech, 1933.

We have broken the international solidarity of the proletariat ; in its place we must build up the living, national solidarity of the German people.

HITLER, Speech, 1933.

The life of a race or a people is not a philosophy that is logically developed and consequently is not a process that grows according to natural laws. It is the construction of a mystical synthesis, or activity of soul,

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which cannot be explained by rational inferences or made comprehensible by exhibiting causes and effects. . . . In the last resort every philosophy that goes beyond formal, rational criticism is not so much knowledge as affirmation—a spiritual and racial affirmation, an affirmation of the values of character.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

What is happening in Germany to-day? The political spirit is taking possession of the whole people. The state is becoming total and is embracing all those private spheres in which human existence had hitherto detached itself from the state and allowed itself a certain degree of neutrality. This neutrality, which to liberally-minded peoples seems the chief and essential condition for the noble blessings of private life and their enjoyment, is repudiated in Germany as weakness, and often even as deliberate cowardice. There are to be no more private Germans: each is to attain significance only by his service to the state, and to find complete self-fulfilment in this service. Thus, to express it in more emphatic terms, there are to be no more mere human beings in Germany but only Germans.

FRIEDRICH SIEBURG : *Germany : my Country.*

Germany is the *key* country of the world, not only on account of her geographical situation on the borders of Asia (which is to-day the most important continent in world policy), but also because Germans are still young enough to experience world-historical problems; to form them and solve them, *inwardly*, while other nations have become too old and rigid to do more than raise defences. But in tackling great *problems*, as

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in other matters, it is the attack that holds the greater promise of victory.

OSWALD SPENGLER : *The Hour of Decision*, 1934.

Our generation has been called upon to create the national unitary State. We are to succeed where our fathers failed and to bequeath to future generations the result of our endeavours. Let us rejoice that Fate has found us worthy of so huge a task. Let us also realize that this day is a turning-point in the history of our country, and that its importance can only be properly estimated by posterity. I ask every one of you to contribute your share to this splendid achievement. Let the past be past, and—always conscious of your duty—envisage the future with confidence. Pride yourselves on being privileged to witness so tremendous a change and to collaborate in the work of moulding our country's destiny. Everyone is needed for that noble purpose. And all those who love Germany must serve her to the limit of their power, so that the great work may be completed for the benefit of the whole nation.

DR. FRICK, Broadcast speech, 1934.

There can be only a single Great Power in Europe, and Germany, the most Aryan country, must become that Power. The other nations are all mongrels, and therefore cannot aspire to domination of the various peoples of our Continent.

We do not need a Colonial Empire, which would be useless to us, and would only involve us in an unnecessary quarrel with Britain. Britain must, by the very nature of things, be our ally. Everything points to it. The two essential factors are similarity of race,

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and the harmony of interests on both sides. If we leave the seas to England, the Continent of Europe will be ours.

HITLER to Otto Strasser.

Germany will either become a World Power or nothing.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

Germany must inevitably win its rightful place on this earth. . . . A state which dedicates itself to the cherishing of its best racial elements must some day be master of the world.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

It has been a truism for a long while that all the Western States and their creative values have been produced by the Germans. *Houston Stewart Chamberlain*, however, was the first who drew the necessary conclusions from this fact : if German blood were to disappear from Europe . . . the entire culture of the West would go with it. . . . To-day we are conscious that we stand before a final decision of terrible significance. Either we rise to an ennobled achievement by a revival and purification of the ancient blood, thus renewing our will to fight, or the very last *Germanic-Western* values of civilization and state discipline will be submerged in the polluted human masses of the cities of the world . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

To bring about the Empire is the mission of mankind. . . . *One* nation in Europe must assert its authority over the others ; *one* nation must set up an

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Imperial Right and establish a European 'Nomos.' Nationalism, an offspring of the French Revolution, must be overborne by a new Imperialism. Only the German nation can be the agent of that new Imperialism. . . . There is one thing we strictly demand : the *Imperium*. Wherever this is not granted to us, it must be taken by force. For we are not equal to others—we are Germans.

W. STAPEL, quoted in *The War against the West* by Aurel Kolnai.

The German *Reich* as a state must embrace all Germans ; its duty is not only to rally and preserve the most precious original racial elements, but to lead them onwards, slowly but surely, to a position of dominance. . . .

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

We are not thinking of the Europe of To-day which is too contemptible to have any value. We are thinking of the Europe of Yesterday and whatever thereof may be salvaged for To-morrow. We are thinking of the Germany of All Time, the Germany of a two-thousand-year past, the Germany of an Eternal present which dwells in the spirit, but must be secured in reality and can only so be politically secured.

The ape and tiger in man are threatening. The shadow of Africa falls across Europe. It is our task to be guardians on the threshold of values.

MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK : *Germany's Third Empire*, 1934.

If Germany is to become a world power, and not merely a continental state (and it must become a

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world power if it is to survive), then it must achieve complete sovereignty and independence. Do you understand what that means? Is it not clear to you how tragically mutilated we are by the restriction and hemming in of our vital space, a restriction which condemns us to the status of a second-rate power in Europe? Only nations living independently in their own space and capable of military defence can be world powers. Only such nations are sovereign in the true sense of the word.

HITLER to Rauschning.

We are Prussians, and even if we are Bavarians, Prussia is wherever we are.

GOEBBELS.

An alliance the aim of which does not comprise the intention to make war, is meaningless and worthless.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

The German people alone will be a people of warriors ; the other nations will be helots, working for the Teuton warrior caste. Our sword will guarantee their peace, and will be the recompense for their labour. There will no longer be five, six or eight Great Powers in Europe ; there will only be one all-powerful Germany.

HITLER to Otto Strasser.

The world has no other choice : either it must follow Germany along the trail she is blazing, which leads to justice and freedom, or Europe will topple into the abyss !

VON NEURATH (as Foreign Minister), 1933, from his message to Hamburg business men.

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With the World War and with the German Revolution the 'German Man' in his religious attitude has definitely turned away from the past towards the 'Present.' . . . It is not decisive whether or not he ever reads a book from those remote times. The crucial point is that the depths of his soul are open towards those regions where the ghosts of his illustrious ancestors live and fight; it is from these regions that he (the German Man), too, lives and struggles.

PROFESSOR ERNST HAUER :
Germanic Vision of God.

There is a present political and national duty towards our German people, just as to other peoples of Nordic blood. From the basis, formed of the qualities and powers of the Nordic race, there must be eliminated as far as possible any racially harmful blood mixture; inferior procreation must be checked and the existing Nordic blood-proportion must be increased.

In what concerns the future, there lies ahead the goal of co-operation of all peoples of Nordic race for the common preservation and increase of their race and of the territory for living (*Lebensraum*) which is due to it. This gigantic task is at once political, economic, cultural and religious, for all these different spheres of life must be remoulded in a homogeneous way on the basis of the community of blood of the Nordic race.

Thus the decay of all the traditional Western forms of life, produced by the blind eruptive forces of the nineteenth century, is now ended. A new idea takes its place. The danger of world-Marxism and Communism has thus, in a spiritual sense, been destroyed.

DR. WILHELM KUSSEROW.

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An iron age is in front of us. Its sign is for us the Third *Reich*. This will liberate the German nation from the old bondage. . . . This will unite all German-speaking people in central Europe in a single state (*Machtstaat*). This will give to the most mentally creative and spiritually profound people in the world that inner world mastery for which the world will cry out in its horror of Anglo-Saxon mechanization on the one hand and the complete destructiveness of Bolshevism on the other.

PROFESSOR E. BANSE : *Raum und Volk*
im Weltkrieg, 1932.

The German State is established on a Germanic-German basis and on nothing else. From this point of view there is no 'Christian' school, nor a 'Christian' army, nor a 'Christian' university, but only a *German* school, a *German* army, a *German* University. . . . On the occasions of the great national festivals, for example, these feasts ought not to be introduced by confessional Divine Services, participation in which would always be possible only to a section of the German people, but by Sacred Germanic Hours (*Deutschen Weihestunden*), which would unite us all. . . .

PROFESSOR ERNST HAUER.

But Germany, as it is to-day, is not a biological unit. *It will be Germany only when it is Europe as well.* Without power over Europe we must perish. Germany is Europe. I give you my guarantee that there will be no more unemployment in Europe. An unequalled renaissance will come. We shall awaken the world from its sleep. We shall undertake tasks of which the world does not dream to-day. And we

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shall perform them successfully. But we must have Europe and its colonies. Germany is only a beginning. No European country to-day is a complete whole. But Europe is for us. Whoever conquers it will press his seal on the coming age. We are the chosen. If we fail, we shall die out, as all Europe's nations will degenerate. The stake is life, or death.

HITLER to Rauschning.

Never allow two continental Powers in Europe to arise. Look upon every attempt to organize a second Military Power on the frontiers of Germany, even though it be only in the form of a state susceptible of military development, as an attack upon Germany, and think it not alone a right but a duty to prevent such a state from arising, or to smash it if it has arisen, by every means, including armed force. Have a care that the strength of our people should be founded not upon colonies but upon the soil of the European home. Never deem the *Reich* assured if it cannot give all the offspring of our people a bit of land of their own for centuries to come. Never forget that the holiest right in this world is the right to the soil which one may till for oneself, and that the holiest sacrifice is the blood shed for this soil.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

The only thing which matters to-day is the determined claim for territory for the millions of unborn Germans. This requires character and insight. . . . As long as the French, together with Poles and Czechs, dominate Europe, as long as France dominates us at all, there can be no prosperity for the German people. . . .

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In this great struggle for Honour, Freedom and Bread, fought by a great creative nation like Germany, there can be no more consideration of the claims of impotent, unqualified and arrogant representatives of other nations. Soil must be provided to be tilled, by the fists of Germanic peasants. Thus, the German people . . . will be able to breathe freely once more. Thus, too, a new cultural epoch of the white man will arise.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

The central position of the German territory between twenty-five neighbouring peoples had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. A dismembered *Deutschtum* and a disunited *Reich* must always appear a curse. Conversely, a united strongly led *Reich* signifies a blessing.

A consequence of this central European situation is the three-fold form which the German territory presents to us to-day. Alongside the (a) state-territory of the German *Reich* there is the area of the (b) German *Volk* and that of (c) German *Kultur*. . . .

The area of the German *Volk* reaches as far as sounds the German tongue. It goes far beyond the state boundaries of our *Reich* and comprises all the German states as well as the solid areas of the German *Volk* which are in the possession of non-German states. From small beginnings the German *Volk* territory has developed in the course of centuries. In spite of every effort to win German *Volk* soil for foreign peoples, the original boundaries—apart from a few small losses—have been maintained. This speaks for the strong vitality and the unbounding will-to-live of the German *Volk*.

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The German *Kultur* area stretches far beyond the German *Volk* area to the east. It includes lands too, of non-German peoples who have received from the German *Volk* their historical consciousness, their *Kultur* and their being as *Volk*. Traces of a German life are to be found everywhere in this German *Kultur* region, German tongue, German art and German law are spread everywhere in this German *Kultur* region. Scattered throughout it are many large islands of the German *Volkstums*. They preserve still intact to-day the vital connection of the German *Kultur* region with the German *Volkstum*.

[Thus] the area of Central Europe, inhabited by Germans attached to the soil and which receives from the German *Volk* its definite cultural appearance, is the heart-piece of Europe.

From a handbook for the Hitler-
Youth Movement, 1937.

Germany must have an *Absatzgebiet*, a territory that would constitute a reservoir of raw materials and an outlet for surplus population. When even small nations like Belgium, Holland and Portugal have colonies it is unthinkable that the great German *Reich* should have no colonies at all. We must have colonies that cannot be cut off from Germany in the event of war. Colonies do not necessarily mean territories in Africa or Asia. They could well be regions in Europe that might be included in our German *Grossraumwirtschaft* [regional economy under German control]. In this area we would purchase raw materials with the *Reichsmark*, something that is impossible when we are forced to buy products from the French and British colonial empires. We could

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supply the peoples within this region with our manufactured goods.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, 1937.

All these groups of little peoples (e.g. Dutch, Belgians, Roumanians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, etc.) would have the way to prosperous existence opened up to them within Germany's space once their cultural aspirations were freed from all influences tending to make them mere tools of anti-German policy and propaganda. A new basis of national consciousness would raise them to subjects once again, whose unforced attitude need be in no contradiction whatever to the naturally given conditions of their immediate environment. However, that healthy Nationalism which has taken hold of the twentieth century must abandon the pathological chauvinist degeneration; for such tendencies are indeed confusing and demoralizing on account of the great differentiation prevailing among our European nationalities. This becomes clearly obvious when we examine the military and political obligations of the citizens of a nationality state. It is therefore an integral part of Germany's defence (*Wehr*) policy to work steadfastly and unswervingly for a new basis of European consciousness. The adoption of this aim would remove the odium of menacing lust for conquest from Germany's dynamic foreign policy and replace it by an ethic which could solve amicably the never fully satisfactory demarcation of frontiers.

GENERAL VON METZSCH : *Wehrpolitik*.

The future of Germany and of the Germanic race is bound up with the soil of our Fatherland. From it we

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gather strength and vitality. The land does not belong to us, we belong to the land.

From a German agricultural expert.

We may be inhuman ! But if we save Germany we have accomplished the greatest deed in the world. We may be unjust ! But if we save Germany, we have repaired the greatest injustice in the world. We may be immoral ! But if our people is saved, we have paved the way for morality.

HITLER, Speech, 1933.

My people (*Volk*) is for me the most sacred conception. What I am and have I owe to it alone. If it goes down, I, as its member, go down into the abyss. If it rises to the proud height indicated by the symbols of the Eagle and the Sun-cross (*Sonnenkreuz*) I have a share in it. . . .

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN.

The eternal will of a People is embodied in the state. Our affirmation of the state, therefore, is religious.

PROFESSOR ERNST HAUER.

National-Socialist Germany is not merely a unitary State : it is also a unitary nation, and its governance is based on the principle of leadership. The nation constitutes the concrete substance of the National-Socialist movement, and the state is merely a means for the realization of its political aims. The National-Socialist Party is acknowledged to be the organization with which by far the greater part of the German people have identified themselves. It is therefore best qualified to represent the nation, and the ultimate

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object must be to establish the complete unity of the Party and the state. Hence, leadership must be vested in the Party, and positive tasks must be entrusted to it. It is the embodiment of the German political idea and determines Germany's political activities. Its organization is the supreme organization of the German people. The state apparatus serves the purpose of giving effect to the political principles laid down by the Party.

DR. FRICK, in *Germany Speaks*, 1938.

The Party (National-Socialist) has now become the state. All Power is in the hands of the Imperial Executive. The return of authority in German life to special districts or even to special organizations must be prevented. There exists no longer authority coming from *any special sphere* of the *Reich*. There is now only one authority: the idea of the German People.

HITLER, Speech, 1933.

We are a united block, a conscious community. We know that it is the sole desire of our enemies outside that this block might crack one day. It is their only hope, to drive a wedge between you, the people, and the leadership. . . . The German people have had that experience once. They will not have it a second time. May those outside assure us in the most alluring tones that they fight not against the German people but only against its leadership, only against its political system. We know that tune. You blow your old songs on new pipes; the German people have become wise, and will never be foolish again. Be sure of that!

RUDOLF HESS, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 4th, 1939.

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'The democracies' cherish the hope that one day it may yet be possible to disseminate disharmony between the German leadership and the German people. This indeed would be the only chance of defeating and dishonouring Germany once again. A few days ago an important English newspaper gave itself away in discussing the German broadcasts of the English B.B.C. The *News-Chronicle* wrote on February 20, that by continuing with these broadcasts it might be possible 'to drive a wedge between the German people and their masters, who are trying to keep them in the dark.' So this is the intention! And this hope is cherished in common by all the enemies of the German people abroad and the little clique of intellectuals and professional no-men at home. . . . In face of this there is only one slogan for the German people: *Look to the Führer* and dismiss the lies of our opponents with disdainful contempt. And the country looks to its Führer with great confidence.

GOEBBELS; *Völkischer Beobachter*,
Feb. 25th, 1939.

Führer, see us, we are thy Germany.

A slogan at the Nuremberg Conference.

We wish to have no other God but Germany.

Bayrischer Kurier, 1933.

He who serves Adolf Hitler serves Germany, and he who serves Germany serves God.

VON SCHIRACH.

We have done with the romance of the Revolution, and now we must commence its history. Therefore

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we must have eyes for nothing that is not real and practical.

A Nazi undergraduate.

We are the standard bearers
Of the new age !
We have become one people
Through his hand ;
He drew us together
Into the Fatherland !
God bless the work and our efforts
God bless the Leader and these times !

A song of the Hitler-Youth.

To-day we own Germany, To-morrow all the world.

A marching-song.

One people ! Then one State ! and only then
when the immediate national task has been accomplished,
the super-national task of a new central
European unification under German leadership.

PROFESSOR SRBEK.

Germany, thou wilt, gleaming stand, even though we
should go under.

Forward ! Forward ! resound the heroic fanfare.

Forward ! Forward !

Youth knows no hazards. Be the goal ever so high,
Youth will yet achieve it.

(Chorus) Our flag flutters before us, as into the future
we move man for man.

We are marching for Hitler through night,
And through danger,

With the flag of youth for freedom and bread.

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Our flag flutters before us.

Our flag is the new time.

Our flag leads us into Eternity.

Yes, the flag is greater than death !

Song of the Hitler-Youth and the Hitler-
Maids (*Bund Deutscher Mädchen*).

III

THE NATIONAL-SOCIALIST PARTY

THE National-Socialist Party is the state.

GOEBBELS.

Any philosophy of life, be it a thousand times right and of the highest utility to mankind, will remain without significance for the practical shaping of the life of a people so long as its principles do not become the banner of a fighting movement. This movement will in its turn be a party, so long as its activity has not fulfilled itself in the victory of its ideas, and will make the party-creed the new fundamental laws of the State created by the community of a people.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

We demand, in accordance with the right of all peoples to self-determination, the union of all Germans to form a Pan-German state (*Gross Deutschland*). We demand that the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain shall be abrogated. We demand a living space (*Lebensraum*) for the maintenance of our people and for settling our surplus population.

None but members of the German Nation shall be citizens of our state. Only those who are of German blood can be considered as our countrymen whatever their creed. No Jew, therefore, can be a member of the nation. Those who are not citizens of the state

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may live in Germany only as foreigners and must be subject to the laws governing aliens.

The right to determine the leadership and laws of the state shall be the privilege of the citizens of the state alone. We demand therefore that all official appointments shall be held by citizens of the state alone. We oppose the demoralizing parliamentary tradition of filling public offices merely with a view to party considerations, and without reference to character and capability.

We demand that the state shall ensure the means of livelihood for the citizens of the state. If it is not possible to provide work for the entire population living within the confines of the state then foreign nationals must be expatriated.

All the citizens of the state shall enjoy equal rights and duties. It must be the primary duty of every citizen of the state to work with his mind or with his body. The activities of the individual must not clash with the interests of the community, but must be pursued within the framework of the national activity and must be for the general benefit. We demand, therefore, the abolition of all unearned incomes, and emancipation of the slavery of interest charges.

Because of the enormous sacrifices of life and property demanded of a nation by war, all personal gains through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand, therefore, the complete confiscation of all war profits.

We demand the nationalization of all business combines (trusts) and we demand that the state shall share in the profits of large industries.

We demand an extensive development of provision for old ages.

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We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class. Early steps must be taken for communalization of the big Department Stores and for the lease of stores at a low rate to small traders. We demand that the greatest consideration shall be shown to all small traders supplying goods to the state. . . .

We demand an agrarian reform suitable to our national requirements ; the enactment of a law to expropriate without compensation the owners of any land that may be needed for national purposes ; the abolition of ground rents, and the prohibition of all speculation in land.

We demand a ruthless campaign against all whose activities are injurious to the common interest. Oppressors of the nation, usurers, profiteers, etc., must be punished with death, whatever their creed or race.

We demand that the Roman Code which serves the materialistic world order shall be replaced by a system of German Common Law.

We demand that the state must undertake a thorough reconstruction of the whole cultural system of the nation, with the aim of giving to every capable and industrious German the benefit of a higher education and therewith the capacity to take his place in the leadership of the nation. The curricula of all educational establishments must be arranged according to the requirements of practical life. The conception of what the state stands for, the science of citizenship, must be taught in the schools from the very beginning. We demand educational facilities for specially fitted children of poor parents, whatever their class or occupation, at the expense of the state.

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We demand that the task of raising the standard of health in the nation must be the concern of the state. The state must exercise its guardianship over mothers and infants, must prohibit child labour and must provide legally obligatory gymnastics and sports in order to increase physical fitness of the young.

We demand the abolition of a paid army and the formation of a national army.

We demand legal measures against intentional political lies and their dissemination in the Press. In order to facilitate the creation of a German National Press, we demand (1) that all editors of newspapers and all contributors, employing the German language, shall be members of the nation; (2) that special permission from the state shall be necessary before non-German newspapers may appear. These must not be printed in the German language; (3) that non-Germans shall be forbidden by law to have any financial interest in or in any way to influence German newspapers. The penalty for transgression of this law shall be suppression of any such newspaper and the immediate deportation of the non-German concerned in it.

It must be forbidden to publish newspapers which do not conduce to the national welfare. We demand that legal measures must be taken against any tendency in art and literature calculated to exercise a disruptive influence upon the life of the people. Any organizations which offend against the foregoing requirements shall be dissolved.

We demand liberty for all religious denominations in the state in so far as they are not a danger to it and do not militate against the ethical sense of the Germanic race. The Party as such represents the

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standpoint of positive Christianity but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular confession. It is, however, strenuously opposed to the Jewish materialist spirit within and without the Party, and is convinced that a lasting resurrection of our nation can only be achieved from within on the principle of placing the well-being of the state before self-interest.

In order that all this may be carried out, we demand the creation of a strong central power in the state; the unconditional authority of the central Parliament over the entire Reich and all its organizations; the formation of Diets and vocational Chambers for the purpose of administering in the various federal states the general laws promulgated by the Reich.

The leaders of the Party swear to promote the fulfilment of these demands at all costs, if necessary at the sacrifice of their own lives.

From the programme of the German
Workers' Party, Munich, 1920.

The National-Socialist German Workers' Party has set up within its organization a special section for gymnastics and sport. It is intended to serve as a means for bringing our youthful members together in a powerful organization for the purpose of utilizing their strength as an offensive force at the disposal of the movement. It is for them to show themselves worthy representatives of a free people's desire for defence against its enemies, and to provide a protection for the work of enlightenment about to be accomplished by the leaders. This organization is intended above all else to implant an unrestricted will to action in the hearts of our young followers and to

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hammer and burn it into their minds that it is not History, and that the man who defencelessly submits himself to slavery deserves to be a slave. Moreover, they are to be taught loyalty among themselves and joyful obedience to their leaders. The leaders of the Party expect you all to join. Your services will be needed in the future.

Proclamation, 1921.

President (ironically) : You imply a moral revolution? And if anyone understands anything else by it you will say : ' We can't help that ' ?

Hitler : Germany is strangled by Peace Treaties. Every law that is made in Germany to-day is an attempt still further to grind down the German people under the Treaties. The National Socialists do not regard these Treaties as natural, but as something that has been forced upon the nation. We do not agree that future generations who are absolutely innocent should be burdened with them. By striving against them with every means in our power we are preparing for revolution.

President : Even by illegal means ?

Hitler : I am assuming that we shall be successful. Then we shall strive against the Peace Treaties with every possible means, even those that may appear illegal to the rest of the world. . . .

President (growing more and more sarcastic) : What is your idea of the Third *Reich* ?

Hitler : The Constitution gives us the ground on which to wage our battle, but not its aim. We shall become members of all constitutional bodies and in this manner make the Party the decisive factor. Of course, when we possess all constitutional rights we

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shall then mould the state into the form that we consider to be the right one.

President (highly sceptical) : So you intend to work only along constitutional lines ?

Hitler (sharply) : Yes.

HITLER, at Leipzig trial, 1930.

What will instantly be done when National Socialism crosses the threshold to political power is to provide means of employment. A great number of plans have already been made to this end, which cannot and must not be explained in detail now. At all events so much may be said that anyone who takes the trouble to familiarize himself with these matters will see and be convinced how seriously and conscientiously the central authorities of the National-Socialist Party will treat the problem of the provision of work. . . . One of the first measures will be the practical realization of the idea of compulsory labour corps. Without any difficulty worth mentioning, at least half a million men can be called up for this service in a very short space of time. . . . A second measure, which will again incorporate at least five hundred thousand in the economic advance, is a simple matter of taxation technique : the revenue from the house duties is to be diverted into industry in such a manner that those who fall under the duty will have up to 75 per cent. of the tax remitted if they can produce receipted bills for repairs carried out on their own premises. The whole of Germany will from one day to the next be filled with the sounds of hammering and knocking, of cleaning and roofing, of floor-laying and installation, of painting and whitewashing.

FEDER GOTTFRIED, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1932.

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The world must now know two things : first, the German *Reich* will never surrender its honour and its equal rights. The German people will defend the nation against all. Secondly, the German Government, like the German people, is imbued with the spirit of making the greatest possible contribution to the preservation of world peace. The German Army does not need to rehabilitate the fame of its arms. . . .

The National-Socialist ideal has conquered. To-day Germany is ruled by this Philosophy. . . . The gradual evolution of the *Reich* in coming decades under National-Socialist leadership of the German people's state demands discipline at home, complete order and undisturbed tranquillity. Therefore, it is my inflexible resolve personally to bring to account any who should venture to hinder or oppose this development. I will not have the ignorant misled, or insignificant persons shot, but I will in all cases crush to earth the really responsible.

The National-Socialist state pledges itself to positive Christianity. It is my sincere aim to safeguard the rights of the two great Christian confessions, to preserve their doctrines from attack, and to create harmony between their duties and the requirements of the present state.

. . . Do not count on any standing in the eyes of the outer world other than that of the strength your solidarity gives the *Reich*. . . . Not for my sake but for that of the German people I have requested this Referendum. I do not need a vote of confidence to strengthen or maintain the position I hold. But the German people need a Chancellor supported before the whole world.

I do not argue with those to-day who think that

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they can do better in this responsible office than I can. Well, they have all failed. They must admit that on the whole my fifteen years of struggle for you have been successful. I have created a movement for nothing and have given the German people a new, and improved situation at home and abroad. Ever since I have been in this struggle [for Germany's freedom and honour] one thought only has ruled me—Germany.

HITLER, Speech at Hamburg on the eve of the plebiscite, 1932.

. . . The National-Socialist Party knows that the new Government is no National-Socialist Government, but it is conscious that it bears the name of its leader, Adolf Hitler. He has advanced with his shock troops and has placed himself at the head of the Government to lead the German people to liberty. Not only is the entire authority of the state to be wielded, but in the background, prepared for action, is the National-Socialist movement of millions of followers united unto death with its leader. . . .

HITLER's Proclamation, 1933.

After the victory of the National-Socialist Revolution, the Party has become the basic foundation (*Trägerin*) of the Government and it is indissolubly connected with the state. It is a Corporation in Public Law and its constitution is determined by the Führer.

Law, 1933.

If to-day in Germany there are still to be found people who declare: 'We will not join your party but we will continue to remain as we are now,' then

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I reply : ' You will disappear. But after you there will come a generation which would know nothing else ' [but the ideals of National Socialism].

HITLER, Speech, 1933.

To-day our movement stands like a rock and every one of us is ready to fight for it to our last breath. God, who created the German people, has made us strong enough to do this. The spartan virtues, obedience, modesty, and loyalty, have made us great and they only will keep us great. . . .

A nation like Germany riveted together with steel bands cannot be crushed by the ill-will of the whole world. We reach forward a hand of friendship to all those who desire peace, but we will offer a mighty resistance to whomsoever refuses to recognize our independence and denies us equality of rights.

HITLER, Speech at the Nuremberg Congress, 1934.

All the shame and all the evil we have suffered since the so-called Peace Treaty of Versailles had its origin in our humiliation and in our forced disarmament. Now we must all stand solidly behind Adolf Hitler and show the whole world that his will and his demands are identical with those of the whole German nation.

VON NEURATH, Broadcast, 1934.

The Party takes over the function of what has been society—that is what I wanted them to understand. The Party is all-embracing. It rules our lives in all their breadth and depth. We must therefore develop branches of the Party in which the whole of individual

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life will be reflected. Each activity and each need of the individual will thereby be regulated by the Party as the representative of the general good. There will be no licence, no free space in which the individual belongs to himself. This is Socialism—not such trifles as the private possession of the means of production. Of what importance is that if I range men firmly within a discipline they cannot escape? Let them then own land or factories as much as they please. The decisive factor is that the state, through the Party, is supreme over them, regardless whether they are owners or workers. All that, you see, is un-essential. Our Socialism goes far deeper. It does not alter external conditions ; no, it establishes the relation of the individual to the state, the national community. It does this with the help of one party, or perhaps I should say of one order. . . . *The Party understands everything.* It is only a matter of explaining properly. If you do not succeed in making your intentions clear to the Party, then either you do not yourself see things simply and clearly enough, or you are not the right man. If you become estranged from the Party, so that it no longer understands your speech, it is always your own fault. That is why I constantly insist that you should talk, discuss, hold meetings, remain always in close touch with the mass of the Party. If you lose that contact, you may have the best intentions in the world, but no one will understand you. We must not make the mistake of the *bourgeois* representatives, who are strangers to the people, and have perhaps one or two meetings, usually a fortnight before elections, and then never bother about their constituents again.

HITLER to Rauschning, 1934.

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The ideal of National Socialism is embodied in the organization and structure of the Party. The Party stands for the nation's political conscience and political endeavour. . . .

Since the Party is called upon to form an organization through which a political *élite* of the nation shall be continuously recruited to all eternity, the Party shall be duty bound to ensure that the state be guided by the direction of a stable philosophy (of action). In fulfilment of this historical imperative, the Party must create an organization that assures the stability of the leadership of the state. . . . The Party must act on the basic principle that all Germans should be brought up in the doctrine of National Socialism ; that the rightly selected National Socialists become members of the Party ; and that the most competent members of the Party take the lead in the affairs of the state. Thus shall the organization of the Party provide the German state in the future with a supreme general leadership. Thus shall its educational activities provide a foundation for this National-Socialist state in a National-Socialist Nation.

HITLER, Speech, 1935.

I have learnt a great deal from Marxism, as I do not hesitate to admit. I don't mean their tiresome social doctrine or the materialist conception of history, or their absurd 'marginal utility' theories and so on. But I have learnt from their methods. The difference between them and myself is that I have really put into practice what these peddlers and pen-pushers have timidly begun. The whole of National Socialism is based on it. Look at the workers' sports clubs, the industrial cells, the mass demonstrations, the propa-

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ganda leaflets written specially for the comprehension of the masses ; all these new methods of political struggle are essentially Marxist in origin. All I had to do was to take over these methods and adapt them to our purpose. I had only to develop logically what Social Democracy repeatedly failed in because of its attempt to realize its evolution within the framework of democracy. National Socialism is what Marxism might have been if it could have broken its absurd and artificial ties with a democratic order.

HITLER to Rauschning, 1934.

The Catholic Church is a model above all in its uncommonly clever tactics and its knowledge of human nature, and in its wise policy in taking account of human weaknesses, in its guidance of the faithful. I have followed it in giving our party programme the character of unalterable finality, like the Creed. The Church has never allowed the Creed to be interfered with. It is fifteen hundred years since it was formulated, but every suggestion for its amendment, every logical criticism or attack on it, has been rejected. The Church has realized that anything and everything can be built up on a document of that sort no matter how contradictory or irreconcilable with it. The faithful will swallow it whole, so long as logical reasoning is never allowed to be brought to bear on it. But if there is one thing that will perplex and demoralize the flock of believers it is an alteration of a solemn confession of faith, no matter how remote it may have become from practical realities, no matter if it has become simply a venerable ancient monument.

HITLER to Rauschning.

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Our constitutional law is based upon the National-Socialist *Weltanschauung* and is expressed in the general order of the Nation (*Volksordnung*). So far as this general order is formulated in propositions, legal principles or programmatical statements, the supreme constitutional foundation of the Third *Reich* is laid down in the Party Programme.

Beamtenkalender, 1937.

The Nazi Party is a political church where for hundreds of thousands of years German people will be trained to be true National Socialists. We are the political pastors of our people.

GOEBBELS.

IV
THE MYTH OF RACE-PURITY
(*RASSENREINHEIT*)

SOUL means race, inwardly discerned. Conversely, race is the external aspect of a soul.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Nordic blood represents that mystery which has replaced and overcome the old Sacraments.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Blood is sacred. It contains, from ancient times, the generating mystery of families, tribes and peoples. . . . The origin of the spirit is in the blood. There is a Divine power in the blood which forms human beings in conformity with their predestined patterns. . . . It thus comes about that we so ardently love blood and soil and fatherland and the history of our people with all its struggles, that we profoundly worship all this because God himself meets us here, materialized and immediate.

PROFESSOR ERNST HAUER.

The veneration of the blood is not a purely German idea of our age. It is as old as humanity. The worship of ancestors is part of the cult of the ancient Chinese, Americans, Africans and other peoples. . . . It is not possible to build up a German-Nordic religion

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if one omits or rejects the sacred preservation of the blood. *Our religion must correspond to the inheritance of our people* or it will be alien and enforced. Conversely, this means that those who do not share this heritage, those of alien blood, will not be equally receptive to the Nordic religion. For example, a Jew or non-Aryan, however diligent with his religious schooling and however much convinced that he has become assimilated to us, deceives himself and us. The alien element will break out, in criticism or habits or some other form. Hence it is for us a sacred duty to see to it in our family that no member of it by marriage of alien race weakens or spoils our German blood. Nor can sacred German blood be allowed to become diseased by marriage with the mentally inferior. Compulsory sterilization by the Government is rooted and established in the religion of our people.

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN.

Only the Nordic race can be expected successfully to control Jewish influence in culture and industrial life because it is—as the Christian religion is not—race-conscious.

Then a strengthening of Nordic humanity will take place in those lands from which our race originated, namely all over Northern Central-Europe. The union of all Nordic persons and peoples is the final moral duty of the Nordic racial community. Only when this is achieved will the danger of the downfall of creative Nordic Man be banished.

DR. WILHELM KUSSEROW.

The foibles of our heroes ought not to be glossed over, but the eternal, the mythical, behind them ought

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to be intuited and formulated by the questing soul. In this very way there will arise a series of heroic spirits : Odin, Siegfried, Widukind, Frederick II (the Hohenstaufen), Eckehart, Von der Vogelweide, Luther, Frederick the Great, Bach, Goethe, Beethoven, Schopenhauer, Bismarck. . . . To serve this new evolution is the mission of the school in the coming German *Reich*. It is its most important if not its only task in the decades to come to make the new evaluation self-evident to all Germans.

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Der Mythos*.

The race-bound national soul is the measure of all our thoughts, aspirations of will and deeds, the final criterion of our values.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

A cultured nation will concede to no one the right to judge its creations, by censuring them as good or bad, right or wrong. . . .

Each race has its soul, and each soul belongs to a race. . . . Each race in the long run produces only one supreme ideal. . . . This supreme value demands a definite grouping of the other life-values, which are conditioned by it. It thus determines the character (*Daseinsstil*) of a race, of a people. . . .

If we tolerate, at the same time, and in the same place, two or more world-outlooks, each one related to a different supreme value, which the *same* people are to share . . . we have sown the germs of a new catastrophe.

The life of a race, of a people, is not to be understood as a logical, philosophical process, nor does it follow natural laws. Rather is it the unfolding of a

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mystical synthesis, an activity of the soul which cannot be explained by reason.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

It is *not* God's will that there should be a mixture of the races whom He created : each has its own place and its own mission. Racial intermixture is not only anti-social, it is un-Christian.

A Poster in a Eugenics' Exhibition.

The poisoning of the blood of our national body, especially since the Thirty Years War, led to a disintegration not only of our blood, but also of our soul. The open frontiers of our Fatherland, the leaning towards un-Germanic, alien elements along these frontier territories and most of all the strong, flowing current of alien blood into the heart of our Reich, because of its continuous renewal, does not permit an absolute fusion. . . . A new race can no longer emerge. The different racial ingredients remain side by side. The result is that the German people in crucial moments—when a herd usually draws closer together—disperses in all directions. We have not only racial elements in different areas, but within the same area : Eastern men side by side with Nordic, Dinarian alongside Eastern, Western alongside both and mixtures between.

In the future—however distant this may be—there are only two possibilities ; either the world will be governed according to the ideals of our modern democracy, in which case the weight of every decision will fall in favour of the numerically larger races. Or the world will be ruled according to the natural law of

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the survival of the fittest. Then the victory will be to the peoples of ruthless determination. . . .

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

In non-Nordics, the teeth, corresponding to the snout-like narrowness of the upper jaw, stand at a more oblique angle than in animals. The grinding motion of chewing in Nordics allows mastication to take place with the mouth closed, whereas men of other races are inclined to make the same smacking noise as animals. . . .

The Nordic mouth has further superiorities. Just as the colour red has a stirring effect, the bright red mouth of Nordics attracts and provokes kisses and courtship. The Nordic mouth is kiss-capable. On the other hand, the non-Nordic's broad, thick-lipped mouth together with his wide-dilated nostrils displays sensual eagerness, a false and malicious sneering expression and a dipping movement indicative of voluptuous self-indulgence.

Talking with the aid of hands and feet is characteristic of non-Nordics, whereas the Nordic man stands calmly, often enough with his hands in his pockets.

Generally speaking, the Nordic race alone can emit sounds of untroubled clearness, whereas among non-Nordics the pronunciation is impure, the individual sounds are more confused and like the noises made by animals, such as barking, sniffing, snoring, squeaking.

If non-Nordics are more closely allied to monkeys and apes than to Nordics, why is it possible for them to mate with Nordics and not with apes? The answer is this : it has not been proved that non-Nordics cannot mate with apes.

PROFESSOR HERMAN GAUCH : *New Bases of Racial Research.*

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A state which, in an age of racial poisoning, devoted itself to the care of its best racial elements, must become one day lord of the earth.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

How can we arrest social decay? Must what Count Gobineau says come true? We have acted politically on it—no equality, no democracy! But are we to allow the masses to go their way, or should we stop them? Shall we form simply a select company of the really initiated? An Order, the brotherhood of templars round the Holy Grail of pure blood?

HITLER to Rauschning.

The race and the woman must never be left to themselves. The Aryan hero must constantly be on his guard for the protection of the Aryan race and the well-being of the woman. We demand of a member of this noble race that he marry only a blue-eyed, oval-faced, red-cheeked and thin-nosed blonde woman. We demand that he takes as a wife a virgin only. The blond blue-eyed Aryan man must by no means marry a dark-skinned girl of the Mediterranean type, who has a long torso, short legs, black hair, arched nose, thick lips, large mouth, hanging breasts and is heavily haired and inclined to grow fat. The woman of the Mediterranean type, the Hetaera type, are similar to the female species of the beasts of burden. We demand that the blue-eyed Aryan hero marry an Aryan girl who like himself is of pure and unblemished past.

From *Racial Research Weekly*.

Alien albumen is not only harmful animal serum injected into the blood in the name of therapy, but

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also is the semen of a man of any alien race. Such male semen is absorbed immediately and completely into the blood of the female in intercourse. Therefore a single contact between a Jew and a woman of another race is sufficient to corrupt her blood for ever. With this alien albumen she also acquires his alien soul. She can never again, even if she marries an Aryan man, bear pure Aryan children—only bastards in whose breasts two souls dwell and in whose very bodies degeneration is clearly visible. . . . Now we understand why the Jew concentrates with all arts of seduction upon violating German girls as early in life as possible; why the Jewish physician ravishes his women patients while under anæsthetics; why Jewish wives even permit their husbands to have union with non-Jewish women.

German women and girls! Do not let Jewish physicians hypnotize you and drug you—for never again can you bear German children.

Quoted by R. THURSTON: *The New Republic*, December 4th, 1935.

It is the historic credit of Adolf Hitler to have given a political reality to the great revelations of Anthropology. He thus ranks as the greatest regenerator of the people for thousands of years.

After a period of decadence and race obliteration we are now coming to a period of purification and development which will decide a new epoch in the history of the world. If we look back on the thousands of years behind us we find that we have arrived again near the great and eternal order experienced by our forefathers. World history does not go forward in a straight line but moves in curves. From the summit

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of the original Nordic culture of the Stone Age, we have passed through the deep valley of centuries of decadence, only to rise once more to a new height. This height will not be less than the one once abandoned, but greater and that not only in the external goods of life.

We did not pass through the great spiritual death of the capitalist period in order to be extinguished. We suffered it in order to rise again under the 'sign which never yet failed us,' the cross of the Great Stone Age : the ancient, most sacred Swastika.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Blood and soil, as fundamental forces of life, are the symbols of the national-political point of view and of the heroic style of life. By them the ground is prepared for a new form of education. . . . What does blood mean to us? We cannot rest satisfied with the teachings of physics, chemistry or medicine. From the earliest dawn of the race, this blood, this shadowy stream of life, has had a symbolic significance and leads us into the realms of metaphysics. Blood is the builder of the body, and also the source of the spirit of the race. In blood lurks our ancestral inheritance ; in blood is embodied the race ; from blood arise the character and destiny of man. Blood is to man the hidden undercurrent, the symbol of the current of life from which man can arise and ascend to the regions of light, of spirit and of knowledge.

DR. E. KRIECK : *Nationalpolitische Erziehung*, 1933 ; quoted in *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, by Robert A. Brady.

A citizen of the *Reich* is only that subject of the

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Reich who is of German or kindred blood and who, through his conduct, shows that he desires and is fit to serve faithfully the German people and the *Reich*.

Fully convinced that the purity of the German stock is indispensable to the continued existence of the German nation and animated by the inflexible determination to safeguard its existence for all times, the *Reichstag* has unanimously resolved upon the Nuremberg Law for the Protection of the German Race and German Honour, September, 1935.

Marriages between Jews and subjects of German or kindred blood are prohibited. Marriages contracted despite this law are invalid, even if they are concluded abroad in order to circumvent this law. Proceedings for annulment of marriages may be initiated only by the Public Prosecutor.

Jews may not employ in domestic service female subjects of the *Reich* of German or kindred blood who are under the age of 45 years. Jews are forbidden to display the *Reich* and national flag or to show the national colours.

Only citizens of the *Reich*, as enjoying full political rights, may vote in political affairs and may hold public office. . . . A Jew cannot be a citizen of the *Reich*. He cannot exercise the right to vote and he cannot hold public office.

The Law and Decree on Race and Citizenship.

As soon as the vacillating masses find themselves facing an opposition that is made up of different groups of enemies, their sense of objectivity will be aroused and they will ask how is it that all the others can be in the wrong and they themselves and their movement alone in the right.

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Such a feeling would be the first step towards a paralysis of their fighting vigour. Where there are various enemies who are split up into divergent groups, it will be necessary to block them all together forming one solid front so that the mass of followers in a popular movement may see only one common enemy against whom they have to fight.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

The Jews have shown real genius in profiting by politics. This capitalistic people, which was brought into existence by the unscrupulous exploitation of men, has understood how to get the leadership of the Fourth Estate into its own hands ; and by acting both on the Right and on the Left it has its apostles in both camps. On the Right the Jew does his best to encourage all the evils there are to such an extent that the man of the people, poor devil, will be exasperated as much as possible—greed of money, unscrupulousness, hard-heartedness, abominable snobbishness. More and more Jews have wormed their way into our upper-class families ; and the consequence has been that the ruling class has been alienated from its own people.

HITLER, Speech, 1922.

Anti-Semites we are, and have been from the beginning. We are so, however, and this we must emphasize, not out of hatred for the Jew but out of love for the German people. We are of opinion that the blood substance of the Germanic race constitutes so pre-eminent and unique an asset of the world as a whole that we should be justified in counting it the duty of the entire human race, in gratitude, to safeguard

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this basic Germanic element, for we know that from this racial substance have issued the highest achievements of man.

H. FRANK, Speech, 1933.

The Jews reject everything that pertains to the pig. The Nordic peoples, on the contrary, accord the pig the highest possible honour. In the ancient cult of the Germans the pig occupies the first place and is regarded as the first among the domestic animals... . This special honour to the pig, the sacred animal destined to become symbolic sacrifice among the Nordic peoples, has drawn its originality from the great trees of the German forest. . . . Thus out of the darkness of earliest history arise two human races whose attitude in respect of pigs presents an absolute contrast. . . . The Semites and the pig are faunal and thus physiological opposites. It is not unthinkable that the eating of pig flesh by the Semite sets up physiological disharmonies in his body. . . . The Semites do not understand the pig ; whereas this animal occupies the first place in the cult of the Nordic peoples.

WALTER DARRÉ, 1933.

German National Comrades !

Do you know that the Jew :

Violates your child

Sullies your wife

Sullies your sister

Sullies your fiancée

Murders your parents

Steals your property

Mocks your honour

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Scorns your morals
Destroys your Church
Rots your culture
Infects your Race?

From the *Judenkenner*, quoted in
the *Star* (London), 1935.

Germany ! Awake from thy bad dream, give
stranger Jew in thy *Reich* no room !

Don't buy from the Jews !

Swine of a Jew ! He must vanish from our German
house !

Jew, a Danger to Life !

Get out, Judas.

Pack up your traps, Ikey, and get back to Jerusalem.
Who helps the Jews helps the Communists.

Who come with flat feet, curly hair and crooked noses,
'they shall not our land enjoy : they must leave,
they must leave.

From Public Placards.

When Jewish blood spurts from the knife
Then things go twice as well.

A popular Nazi song.

Cows and cattle which were bought from Jews
directly or indirectly may not be bred with the com-
munity bull. Cows and cattle from stalls in which
cattle bought from Jews is kept must be placed under
observation for a year. During this time they may not
be bred with the community bull.

This Ordinance goes into force on October 1st, 1935.

By order of the Mayor of Koenigsdorf (Bavaria) ;
taken from *Tegernseerzeitung*, Oct. 1st, 1935.

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. . . The fact is that the Jews outreached themselves : they alone have grown richer in the last eighteen years. By supporting the Social Democrats they obtained political influence ; they controlled part of the press, most of the medical, legal and theatrical professions. It had to be stopped, but we have done it stupidly and cruelly. My business friends in England tell me it is easier for a Jew to get a job in Berlin than for a Catholic in Ulster or a Protestant in Dublin, but you don't talk about your prejudices or if you do so it is with apologies. That is where we made a mistake.

A Nazi Industrialist to Sir Arnold
Wilson, 1934.

According to the will of the Führer and Chancellor, the administration of German cultural possessions (that is authorship) is to be reserved only for suitable and reliable fellow-countrymen in pursuance of par. 10 of the first decree relating to the execution of the *Reichskulturkammer* Law. Considering the high importance of spiritual and culturally creative work in the life and future development of the German people, there can be no doubt that only such persons are fit to engage in such activities as pertain to German people not merely as citizens but by the deep ties of race and blood (*der Art und des Blutes*).

. . . He alone who feels towards his own people a sense of duty and of kinship arising out of the common racial community is permitted to exercise an influence on the inward life of the nation by undertaking labours of such deep significance and grave consequence as is represented by spiritual and cultural creation. In your capacity of non-Aryan you are incapable both of feeling and of recognizing such an obligation. I must

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therefore deny you the reliability and fitness that are conditions of membership in the *Reichsschrifttumkammer*. . . . You are therefore forbidden within the competence of the RSK.

HINKEL, a circular letter to Jewish authors in Germany, 1935.

The free academic professions, and especially the doctors, come into personal touch with the widest circles of the population, and a doctor occupies a position of confidence in relation to his patients, which opens to him an influence on the thought of those circles. The provincial committee of the Brandenburg doctors regards it as unthinkable that in our state a Jew should retain the possibility of disseminating in this way the poison of Jewish thought.

Through over-Judaization, the former idealistic professional view has incontestably been driven from wide circles of the free professions by the Jewish business spirit. This spirit must be eradicated from our professions, and every possibility of its return prevented.

So far as it has already penetrated the corruption must be stamped out by the most drastic means. We German doctors, therefore, demand the exclusion of all Jews from medical treatment of our fellow-countrymen, because the Jew is the incarnation of mendacity and fraud.

DR. RUPPIN, *Medical Journal*, May 20th, 1933.

Let us assume that even one Jewish pupil remained in a class, this single specimen is the stumbling-block to proper National-Socialist instruction. How can a class, which includes a possibly in itself quite harmless Jewish child, be brought to a proper pitch of racial

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pride and racial consciousness? How can such a class be rendered immune once and for all against pro-Jewish sympathies, and how can it be enlightened about the unbroken series of crimes committed by World Jewry and Jewish Freemasonry? Both on tactical and educational grounds it is not always advisable to place Jewish pupils under disadvantages in class, to treat them roughly, to bully them, to keep on slanging them, or to give them bad reports. Meticulous correctness and painstaking justice have often proved more effective.

The young teacher, consumed with zeal, unsheathes his sword, and calls a spade a spade. He quotes the Talmud, he refers to the stories about the Bible Patriarchs, seizes every opportunity for emphasizing the criminal rôle played by Jews in politics, he posts up pictures from the *Stürmer* and combats the legend of the so-called 'decent Jew.' He misses no chance of instilling into the hearts of his children hatred and contempt for the foreign parasite. All this he does, and yet, unless he is gifted with exceptional powers of carrying conviction, the result may too easily be exactly the opposite of what he intended. For at the farthest and hindmost desk sits a little Jewish urchin, the helpless target of all the attacks on World Jewry. He can make no defence, but sits there clenching his fists and biting back his tears. Such a spectacle revolts the ever-chivalrous German spirit, and it may well be not the worst of his class comrades who, for this reason, feel moved to champion the cause of the persecuted.

We arrive, therefore, at the conclusion that when a Jewish child is in the class a teacher must not go further in his attacks than his pupils are prepared to follow him. As for the so-called 'decent' teacher, a man

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encrusted with all the prejudices of yesterday's pedagogic principles, he, under such circumstances, will make no progress at all. Unlike his enthusiastic colleague, he will wriggle about despairingly, will use paraphrases and circumlocution, unable to bring the words over his lips. Finally, with a deprecatory glance at the last row of desks, he will relapse in silence and give up the task of using the lesson for anti-Semitic instruction. In both cases the little Jew, through the mere fact of his presence, emerges victorious.

The Jewish child, devoid of any spark of honour, or any feeling of tact sufficient to make him realise that he ought under such circumstances to depart voluntarily, succeeds by his obstinancy and mulishness in turning the tables on his opponents. He successfully adopts the martyr's rôle, or alternatively becomes the special protégé of his guileless teachers.

DR. WALTER SCHARRER, in *Der Weltkampf*,
June 1936.

I know perfectly well, just as well as all these tremendously clever intellectuals, that in the scientific sense there is no such thing as race. But you, as a farmer and cattle-breeder, cannot get your breeding successfully achieved without the conception of race. And I as a politician need a conception which enables the order which has hitherto existed on historic bases to be abolished and an entirely new and anti-historic order enforced and given an intellectual basis. Understand what I mean? I have to liberate the world from dependence on its historic past. Nations are the outward and visible forms of our history. So I have to fuse these nations into a higher order if I want to get rid of the chaos of an historic past that has

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become an absurdity. And for this purpose the conception of race serves me well. It disposes of the old order and makes possible new associations. France carried her great revolution beyond her borders with the conception of the nation. With the conception of race, National Socialism will carry its revolution abroad and recast the world. . . . Just as the conception of the nation was a revolutionary change from the purely dynastic feudal states, and just as it introduced a biological conception, that of the people, so our own revolution is a further step, or, rather, the final step, in the rejection of the historic order and the recognition of purely biological values. And I shall bring into operation throughout all Europe and the whole world this process of selection which we have carried out through National Socialism in Germany. The process of dissolution and re-ordering will run its course in every nation, no matter how old and firmly knit its social system may be. The active section in the nations, the militant, Nordic section, will rise again and become the ruling element over these shop-keepers and pacifists, these puritans and speculators and busy bodies. This revolution of ours is the exact counterpart of the great French Revolution. And no Jewish God will save the democracies from it.

HITLER to Rauschning.

Europe cannot have peace before the Jewish question is settled.

HITLER, Speech, 1939.

One thing I should like to say on this day which may be memorable for others as well as for us Germans : In the course of my life I have very often been a

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prophet, and have usually been ridiculed for it. During the time of my struggle for power, it was in the first instance the Jewish race which only received my prophecies with laughter when I said that I would one day take over the leadership of the state, and with it that of the whole nation, and that I would then settle among other things the Jewish problem. Their laughter was uproarious, but I think that for some time now they have been laughing on the other side of their faces. To-day I will once more be a prophet : if the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe !

HITLER, Speech, 1939.

I hereby declare on my word of honour that from now on and in the future I shall never do business of any kind with Jews, or with anyone connected directly or indirectly with Jews. I shall never enter a Jewish shop, and will turn away any Jews who enter my place of residence or estate.

I shall not consult a Jewish physician or a Jewish lawyer. I shall also take care that nobody in my family, or my relatives or acquaintance, visits Jews.

I am aware that I have the opportunity to consult the list containing the names of Jewish businesses in my residential district. I am also aware that if I fail to keep this promise, or if I try to evade it, I shall be expelled immediately from the Party, the S.A., the Local Council, the National-Socialist organizations

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(cross out those of which you are not a member), and that I may be branded, both orally and by writing, as a man who has broken his word of honour and as a scoundrel.

From A Solemn Declaration of Honour,
issued by the Party.

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LET Christ rot—and the Hitler-Youth march.

A song.

Christianity has sided with everything weak, low and botched.

FRITZ PFUNDTER.

. . . Christianity has no conception of Honour . . . as it wanted to subdue not only the body but the soul as well.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

One may well speak of the fall of mankind into Christianity.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN.

The Christian religion must be fought, because it is of purely Jewish and Oriental origin. . . . We demand :

- (1) that all state contributions to the Churches should cease ;
- (2) that purely German community schools be established ;
- (3) that all Theological Faculties be closed ;
- (4) that all churches and monasteries of the Christian Confession be closed ;

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- (5) that all burial grounds be closed to Christian pastors ;
- (6) that the Army be protected against all Church influence.

From a Manifesto by the German
Faith Movement, 1937.

Either Christian or German ! There is no ' Aryan Christ ' and no Christian German. They are incompatible. . . .

Christianity knows nothing of the noble strength of soul arising from our racial constitution. Christianity even teaches us to regard the Hottentot as our ' brother in Christ.'

Do you worship with all your soul, the Great Spirit of your race ? Or, do you join those who in their Sunday coats, with chained hands, to the sound of Church bells, bend their backs and crawl to the cross of a foreign God ?

Publications of the German Faith Movement.

This religion [Christianity] is especially alien to the German nature because it is the creation of a pre-eminently Oriental mind and rests on the sacred writings of the Jews. It contradicts at almost every point the German sense of custom and morality:

By this alien religion the still young German's German soul has been diverted in development from its purity, uniqueness, greatness and integrity (*Geschlossenheit*). In the endeavour to assimilate this never completely accepted alien religion its best energies have been dissipated and the solution of the great duties for the Fatherland have been delayed for centuries. . . .

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This peculiar and tragic destiny fell above all on the leading people (*Führervolk*) of Nordic humanity, who were called to create modern culture. Only in the paralysing struggle against Mediæval Christianity was the Germanic-German people, 'the educators of the new humanity' as *Fichte* called them, able to fulfil its high cultural task.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN : *The 25 Theses of the German Religion.*

The whole cult of the Cross, too, which has covered the German landscape with crucifixion groups, were better left to a barbaric past ! We do not want compulsorily to remove any of these Crosses, but we want to defend ourselves against their cult and the hypocrisy which converts our beautiful German Fatherland into a vale of tears, from which the believing Christian must withdraw himself as quickly as possible, or at least pretend to do so in the presence of others.

The Cross has become the historical symbol of Christians and as such has its justification, but its public representation with the crucified Jesus is intolerable. Our cutters of sacred statues will not be thrown out of work by our demands. They will find other *motifs* better suited to us. This humility, which brings believers to their knees and seeks to produce their self-humiliation, is spiritually alien to us. It has been forced on us by the East, where all tyrants were thus honoured. *It has nothing at all to do with Jesus !*

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN : *An Outline of a German-Nordic Religion.*

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The Cross must fall if Germany is to live.

Slogan of the German Faith Movement.

Dark and gloomy the Cross arises . . . above nations that once were free and independent. Will the teachings diminish or increase the dangers which lie in the imitation of the moral example of the Jewish Saviour?

DR. MATHILDE LUDENDORFF.

The time of the Cross has gone now,
The Sun-wheel shall arise,
And so, with God, we shall be free at last
And give our people their honour back.

Hymn of the German Faith Movement.

Art. 1. We believe in the eternal struggle between the creative and destructive powers on earth and in the universe.

Art. 2. We believe in the eternal revelation of the Divine, through the eternal laws of race, blood and soil.

Art. 3. We believe in the unity of blood and soil in all beings.

Art. 4. We believe and acknowledge that the species (*Arten*) of man are embodiments of forces which differ in value and duty.

Art. 5. We believe and confess that the struggle for fashioning of this earth is part of our eternal struggle.

Art. 6. We believe that the will of Nordic man is force in accordance with his race (*nach dem Masse seiner Art*).

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Art. 7. We believe and confess that the meaning of our life is the fashioning of the divine powers of the Nordic race (*Art*) which lie within us.

Art. 8. We believe and confess that death is the necessary transformation of eternal life, bound unceasingly to create new values.

Art. 9. We believe in the immortality of Nordic Man in the inheritance of his race (*Art*) and in the everlasting Nordic Soul as power of the Divine on earth and in the universe.

DR. WILHELM KUSSEROW : *The Creed of the Nordic Race.*

Have you not read the oriental fairy-tales *Arabian Nights*? That is the Eastern art of story-telling, which created the miracles and all the supernatural round Jesus. When a person has made for himself his own Christian foundation for his German faith—his own 'Fata Morgana'—he will enjoy reading the New Testament. He sees Jesus there in Oriental garb ; he finds Him as the Oriental loves to make his heroes. Only then will, clearly and with matter-of-fact exclusiveness, arise the simple Nordic conception of the figure of Jesus as He was—and so the right Christian foundation of his German-Nordic faith !

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN : *An Outline of a German-Nordic Religion.*

Germanic Faith, in the face of all things great, is open-minded and full of veneration. And many a word that Jesus said and many of His deeds do touch us in our very heart. However, if we are taught to look at Him as the example and the guide, we object and we protest against a dangerous attempt to turn

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our own religious life from its racial attitude towards alien directions. . . . The crucial point is this : Can Jesus and His teachings be freed at all from the entanglement of Asiatic-Semitic elements ? Can His personal power be made effective without, over and over again, threatening our religious life with the danger of an alienation from itself ? . . . We have recognized this Asiatic-Semitic domination, as the disaster of our people. We therefore shall fight it inexorably. . . .

PROFESSOR WILHELM HAUER : *Germanic
Vision of God.*

The Nordic Faith Movement thus assumed religious responsibility for the Nordic race. It has set itself the task of performing that part of the work for the renewal of Nordic Europe which cannot be achieved by States as political formations. Its activities have to do exclusively with the Nordic faith and the national, moral, and religious attitudes which emanate from it. Thus it will be the bearer of the religious mission of Nordic humanity in the world.

DR. WILHELM KUSSEROW : *The Creed
of the Nordic Race.*

If we want to experience Luther we must admire his Hitler-courage in facing opponents, his ardent love to his people, his pure German clarity of speech and writing in dealing with his hypocritical enemies ; his struggle for the German soul ; his exemplary stubborn pursuit of a Church ideal. But we will not seek to perpetuate by print and by law what does not belong to our age. The whole Reformation was bound to silt and ossify because we were basking in Luther's glory and did not endeavour or want to

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carry the work further and erect beyond to a unified German religion.

To-day is the time fulfilled through *Adolf Hitler*, who, in spite of all prophecies, has united the German people. *How can it be tolerated that in a country where all provincial and party barriers have fallen, two great confessions, more than a dozen sects and similar communities so unteachably maintain their right of existence in spite of the power and the rightness of the Hitler ideas?*

Away with them all ! Let the German National Religion come !

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN : *An Outline of a German-Nordic Religion.*

The Christian religion is pernicious :

(a) because instead of creating harmony it opens a gap between religion and science, which is deadly to the German soul ;

(b) because it opens this same gap between the doctrines of salvation and the unconscious racial heritage. . . .

(c) because it misunderstands the laws of self-creation (*Selbstschöpfung*) and blocks the way to perfection by its teachings on salvation.

(d) because—in order to keep a permanent hold over souls . . . it (Christian religion) is forced upon and fixed in the minds of young children by means of a suggestive treatment and often, too, by the ‘induction of insanity’—a procedure which injures their souls in a dangerous manner.

DR. MATHILDE LUDENDORFF, 1934.

The German religion is a religion without the phenomena of disease and degeneration. To this

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Christianity does not belong. Christianity is indeed an unhealthy and unnatural religion which is at an end. For it arose 2,000 years ago among sick, exhausted and despairing men who had lost their belief in life, who despised the world and who waited for the return of Christ and the destruction of the world.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN : *The 25 Theses of the German Religion.*

The Holy Night Festival in Germany is not an invention of the Christian Church. It is really an old custom handed down to us from our remote Teutonic ancestors. The day of the Winter Solstice was sacred to them. Down through the ages to the present day the true German gives himself to good deeds without the ulterior motive of expecting a reward from Heaven. For us the Christmas festival must be for ever a festival of good deeds.

From a letter by a German-Nordic Christian.

That the Catholic Church and also the Confessional Church in their present form must disappear from the life of our people is my firm conviction, and I believe I am entitled to say that this is also our Führer's viewpoint. . . . Furthermore, the development of our teaching scheme in schools of all categories is of such an anti-Christian and anti-Jewish type that the present generation will be forewarned against the blackcoat swindle.

ALFRED ROSENBERG, Speech at Nuremberg.

The prerequisite of all German education is the acknowledgment that it is not Christendom which has

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brought us civilization (*Gesittung*) but that Christianity owes its lasting values to the Germanic character.

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Der Mythos*.

The Theses of the German-Nordic Religion.

The German has his own religion, which flows like the living water of his own perception, feeling and thought, and is rooted in his being. We call it the German religion, or the religion of the German people and understand thereby a German faith expressing the peculiarity and integrity of our race.

The German religion is the form of faith appropriate to our Age. . . . The German of to-day requires a healthy and natural religion which would make him brave, pious and strong in the struggle for people and Fatherland.

The German religion recognizes no dogmas, for it is a religion. It is not a religion of revelation in the Christian sense. It rests rather upon a natural 'revelation' of the divine forces in the world and in the human mind. . . . It has nothing to do with free thought, atheist propaganda and the disintegration (*Zersetzung*) of religion. We who are genuine adherents of the German Faith take our stand on the basis of a positive religion.

God is a moral idea to which we are bound by the eternal creative force of Nature, which works in the world and man. Belief in an other-worldly God is not of Indo-Germanic but of Semitic origin. This kind of God-belief is not a condition of true religion and piety.

To God's Being belong Will, Understanding (*Verstand*) and Personality. These are, indeed, unique in

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Man. Therefore Man is the place (*Ort*) of God in the world. Man is not God, but he is God's birthplace. God exists and grows in Man. If God does not come in Man, He never comes. Hence the German religion is the religion of profound faith in Man. . . .

The German Religion recognizes no dualism or conflict between body and soul, any more than duality and conflict between God and the world and God and Man. We think of the being, body-soul, as a natural unity and entity. . . .

The feelings of union, holiness and blessedness are the basic religious feelings. The Christian feelings of sin, guilt and repentance are not religious feeling at all. They are artificially engendered complexes in Man.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN : *The 25 Theses of the German Religion*, 1933.

The Syrian-Jewish Church has outwitted the magnanimous German.

It is not easy for any German to pronounce a negative judgment against the Etruscan-Jewish-Roman system ; for however this may be regarded, it is exalted by the devotion of millions of German men and women. . . . Nevertheless, truth, at this great spiritual turning-point, bids us examine, in relation to the innate nature of the Germanic West, what it is that advances and what retards Life. . . . And here we see that to the German is allotted the same fight as that between Greece and Rome. It is no more possible to escape this struggle than it was possible to avoid the other two great Northern populous waves (*Voelkerwellen*). These, in flowing back brought with them the Asiatic spiritual values and the human

material which incorporated these values . . . right into the heart of the Nordic race itself.

If one tries to trace the causes of this great success, one will discover that apart from the former technical superiority of the old and experienced South, and the crisis in the religious life of the German, there is the appeal to Germanic magnanimity (*Grossherzigkeit*) as one of the most important reasons. This . . . magnanimity . . . has been the cause of many a difficult collapse in the course of German history, when, for example, the German began to admire Rome, or in more recent times, when he carried through the Jewish emancipation, and thereby granted to the poisoned equal rights with healthy blood. . . . This brought a terrible revenge. . . . We are still in the situation where these two hostile powers appeal to the generosity of the very sick patient, call for his 'justice,' preach the 'love' for everything 'human,' and are trying finally to break down such resistances of character as are left.

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Der Mythos*.

In German countries the Christian superstructure has completely failed, because one sought to build with Syrian-Etruscan materials about which the German soul was not consulted.

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN.

We demand that the German People's Church should preach a simple divine message, purified of all Oriental distortions, and that a heroic Christ should be made the basis of a Christianity founded on race. The broken enslaved soul must in future be replaced

by the proud man who, as a child of God, feels that he has a duty towards his own divinity and towards his people.

German Christians' Confessions, 1933.

In the German Church there must be along with the man-heroic figure the beloved and faithful picture of the most blessed Mother (Frau Hölle, the Mother-soul of the German race), if the Church is to rest on the laws of life of a people's Church.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN :
The German National Church.

Man has to be passed and surpassed. Nietzsche did, it is true, realize something of this, in his way. He went so far as to recognize the superman as a new biological variety. But he was not too sure of it. Man is becoming God—that is the simple fact. Man is God in the making. Man has eternally to strain at his limitations. The moment he relaxes and contents himself with them, he decays and falls below the human level. He becomes a quasi-beast. Gods and beasts, that is what our world is made of.

HITLER to Rauschnig.

We are fighting, as our ancestors said, for the fashioning of the world by the side of the gods—the German gods, not the God of an effete and outworn Christianity. . . . It is urgently necessary that we should all, and especially the school-youth, become well acquainted with the early Faith, not that we may become worshippers of Wotan and Donar. . . . It is

more helpful for our people to occupy themselves with the beliefs of their own forefathers than with those of the Jewish people.

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN : *An Outline of a German-Nordic Religion.*

We need no man in black to whom to make our confessions, that we may gain strength for the coming year. When we look into the flames of this holy fire and throw our sins into them, we can descend from this mountain¹ with clean souls. We do not need priests and pastors. We have become our own priests. We approach nearer to God after climbing this mountain. Let people abroad sneer at us as much as they like for our mode of worship. The fact remains that God has always remained by the side of Germany, even thousands of years before there were prophets or churches. The time will come when Germans will climb the sacred mountain not once a year but whenever they feel the need of worship which formerly led them into the churches. Be beautiful, godlike, and natural.

STREICHER at the Nordic Festival.

For Nordic man the Divine is not a person, but energy.

DR. WILHELM KUSSEROW : *The Creed of the Nordic Race.*

Drink the wine's dark strength, which flows through your soul, creating in the inmost being a holy sense of responsibility. Then pray, yet pray only to yourselves, and you conjure up out of your own nature a spirit who hears you. To God the Lord it is a triumph

¹ The Hesselberg, a mountain the Nazis declared sacred.

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when you do not wilt before Him ; when instead of kneeling down dumb in the dust, you stand lordly ; when proudly like the tree you do not bow down under blossom ; when only the burden of blessing brings you down to the dust.

Remove the wine. He who is not yet aflame is not worthy of its kiss ! But he who himself comes from the fire has already for long been gloriously aglow. Only one pleasure befits you : only that course through storm and night which out of your own dark breast makes a heaven of stars.

From an address at the Youth
Dedication Ceremony.

Thou art not to-day
And art not to-morrow.
Thou art thousand years before thee
And art thousand years after thee
Thousand years before thee
Have guarded your blood,
That thou becomest just
What thou art.
Guard thy blood, that
The generation that come
Thousand years after thee
Have cause to thank thee.

Recited at the Name Consecration ceremony.

To believe in spirits, even in a world-spirit, or a Divine spirit is no longer worthy of our age of knowledge.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN.

German land and German blood, German soul and German art ; these four must become for Ger-

mans the most sacred thing on earth. And when every man and woman are penetrated by these four sacred feelings, then they will be ready for that which unites and crowns them all, namely, the acceptance of the German-Nordic religion.

FELIX FISCHER-DODELEBEN.

It is one of the greatest tasks of the Century to build up a German Church in the image of a myth of the people and thus to give expression to the longing of the Nordic soul. . . .

But the most important point is this: A German People's Church on a voluntary basis and built upon the idea of national and personal honour, will be joined only by those who . . . are of Nordic descent. What could already be observed in the voluntary *Reichswehr*, will be repeated here in a still nobler sense. . . .

Veneration for the soldier fighting for the honour of his people is the newly-born attitude to life. In the name of this new religion of national Honour this Nordic-European consciousness will awake . . . an attitude which, one day, will have to make common cause against the Yellow East, the Black South and the Syrian parasite—if we are not all to perish.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Awakening of the 'German feeling of Life in the Church.'

Struggle against the Catholic centre 'which lacks spirit' (*Geistfremd*), against Marxism, Pacifism, Internationalism, Freemasons, and Jews.

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Beware of non-German blood!

Keep your race pure.

Let us fulfil the racial mission God has ordained for us.

The Evangelium im Dritten Reich, Jan. 1933.

Every supra-national or international Churchdom of a Roman Catholic or world-Protestant stamp is a political debasement of Christianity. The Christian faith is the unbridgeable religious opposition to Jewry. National Socialism's fight against every claim by the Churches to political power, its striving for a *Weltanschauung* of a kind natural to the German people, is on the philosopho-political side of the continuance and completion of the work which the German reformer Martin Luther began. The distinction between politics, *Weltanschauung*, and religion won through this fight will bring true understanding of the Christian faith once more to life. The conditions of an honourable religious striving, of the growth and spread of a true Christian faith in the German people, are order and tolerance within the existing Churches.

From Declaration, German
National Church, 1937.

Two million people died and ten million were crippled when, in the so-called Great War, almost every nation in the world attacked the German Empire in the midst of peace. If one asks the nations of the world in which religion they believed when they made this expedition against the leading people of the Nordic race, they answer: 'In Christianity, the

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religion of peace.' If one asks them 'To which God did you pray?' they answer: 'To the Christian God, the Saviour of the world.'

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN:
The German National Church.

'Where is God?' That is the question of those who are not satisfied with Christianity; of those, too, who are the representatives of philosophic materialism and who deny the existence of the Divine. . . . Last but not least, Christians in perplexity also ask this question. The Germans who put this question can be divided into two main groups: first those who seriously want an answer, if not with regard to the 'Where,' certainly with regard to the affirmation in general that God does exist. A second group uses the question more or less as a weapon in the armoury of atheism, in order to reach the conclusion: There is no such thing as 'God' or 'the Divine.' . . .

The younger and youngest generations investigate the philosophy and religion of our Germanic and Nordic ancestors with the double purpose: to find personal stimulus . . . and to gain a clear point of view as to the much-contested thesis: Germanism or Christianity.

COUNT REVENTLOW.

The Nordic man does not seek his God in a conventional way; he *experiences* what is generally called God. The Nordic man lives in God. He feels himself to be God. In his feeling and his will he is God himself. The voice of his conscience becomes the voice of God. Whatever is against his conscience is

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sin. That is the substance of the religion of the Nordic. The veneration for this Godly Voice in our conscience is Nordic religion.

PROFESSOR ARNO SCHMIEDER : *Die Deutsche Schule im Deutschen Staat (The German School in the German State)*, 1935.

If you want to know where God is, I can only answer this from my present spiritual height, which, let us hope, is capable of further elevation. 'I know that I know nothing.' But I know, too, that the question 'where' is not a question only but a power that leads upwards and reveals the value of life, provided that it remains a question and keeps us in a state of tension.

If you persist in an answer to your 'Where is God?'—always look above you! This direction will never deceive you. Eros is both the bow and the arrow (*Richtung und Richtkraft*), is everything! Insatiable for 'higher mating' (*Hohere Begattung*), beyond guilt and error, you will find the only observable trace of God, always beyond yourselves.

Or, forget your favourite pose (*Lieblingsattitude*) and look in the mirror. You need seek no more: You are 'satisfied.'

COUNT REVENTLOW.

Either we have a German God or none at all. The international God flies with the strongest bombing-squadrons—and they are not on the German side. He is a Patron of Versailles and we are only His step-children. We cannot kneel down before a God who pays more attention to the French than to us. We Germans have been forsaken by the Christian

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God. He is not a just, supernatural God but a political party God of the others. It is because we believed in Him and not in our German God that we were defeated in the struggle of the nations.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN :
The German National Church.

For us there is only one idea, one outlook on life, one religion which can bring bliss—and that is the eternal belief in the German *Volk*, in its blood and in its soil and in its creator. Our religion would not exist if our blood did not exist.

DR. LEY, Speech, 1933.

The God whom we worship would not exist if our souls and our blood were not . . . Therefore, our religion, our rights, our State is concerned with everything which protects, strengthens, purifies, achieves, the honour and freedom of this soul and this blood.

Therefore holy places are all those in which German heroes died for this idea. Holy are these places where memorials and monuments cause us to remember them, and holy days are those in which they fought for it most passionately.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

God has determined my place in this nation and has provided me with physical and mental capacities out of the strength of this my people, in order to make me believe,—as a Christian and as a disciple of Christ,—that God at last has shown His approval of the entity of this my people.

H. R. RÜCKERT.

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The Germans have no feeling of guilt or that they are born sinners. Even if the German sins, he does not lose direct connection with God.

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH HAUER.

To discuss seriously the Christian notion of 'sin' in the post-Darwin age . . . would make us look ridiculous. The same applies to the 'forgiveness of sin,' the 'justification,' the 're-birth' and 'salvation' in general. The same applies to Luther's belief in the Bible. The Jewish-Pauline Bible, which he merely translated into German instead of writing a German Bible, holds, in reality, no other importance for us than the Edda Sagas or the Upanishads or any other great and historically important literary document of the early religious history of mankind.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN.

Our sin, too, does not come into existence without the will of God. It has to happen, in order to make us Men, Fighters, Heroes; thus it has its eternal significance. . . . Thus we learn to accept our sin as we do a stage of new life. Instead of feeling depressed about what lies behind us . . . the creative power of the Universe lifts us to those sublime regions of a new affirmation of life, where our outlook is widened and where we perceive that great bright world of things-in-the-making, a world to which we belong, in which we are allowed to struggle with all the resisting forces . . . carried on by the great Divine Will.

PROFESSOR WILHELM HAUER :
Germanic Vision of God.

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Conscience is a Jewish invention. It is a blemish, like circumcision.

HITLER to Rauschning.

Mercy is an un-German conception . . . with which we can have nothing to do.

BISHOP MÜLLER.

Here, to the discredit of the life of Christian 'love,' belong Christian charity and pity, which, in a new form, have also appeared in the 'humanitarianism' of the Freemasons, and have done the greatest harm to our national life. Out of the dogma of 'boundless love' and 'the equality of everything human before God' on the one hand, and, on the other, the teaching of a democratic, raceless 'human right' which has no root in a national conception of honour, European society has indeed 'evolved' into the guardian of the inferior, the sick, the crippled, the criminal and the corrupt. A nation led by honour and duty would not maintain the lazy and the criminals, but would eliminate them.

Thanks to humanitarianism, preaching, and the teaching of human equality, any Jew, Negro or Mulatto could be a fully qualified citizen of any European state; thanks to humanitarian care, the European states swarm with luxury institutions for incurably sick and insane people. Thanks to humanitarianism also the previously convicted criminal . . . valued as an unhappy human. . . . Thanks to humanitarianism Niggers and Jews are allowed to marry into the Nordic race, yes, even to obtain important posts.

This humanitarianism which is bound to no racial notion of honour, has turned the fraudulent jobberies

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the German religion. If we had no Categorical Imperative we should have to invent it. We have it, however, and it lives again in the Kantian ethic of duty in millions of German hearts. For the high National-Socialist demand: 'The welfare of the Community before the individual' is a popular description of the Kantian moral law: 'Act in such a way as that the motive of your action might become the basis of universal validity.' *Greater than Jerusalem and Rome is Kant's teaching of the moral law in us and which gleams like a starry sky.*

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN: *The 25 Theses of the German Religion*, 1933.

The Ethics of the German Religion condemns all belief in inherited sin, as well as the Jewish-Christian teaching of a fallen world and man. Such a teaching is not only non-Germanic and non-German, it is immoral and non-religious. Whoever preaches this undermines the morality of the people.

Whoever forgives sin, sanctions sin. The forgiving of sins undermines religious ethics and destroys the morale of the people.

At the heart of the German ethical ideals lie the passionate concern for the welfare of the German people and Fatherland, not for the blessedness of the individual. The German ethics is not one for the salvation of the individual as taught by Christianity, but one for the welfare of the people as a whole.

The Ethics of the German religion is an heroic ethics. It rests on three ancient German virtues: bravery, chivalry and fidelity, all of which spring out of honour.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN: *The 25 Theses of the German Religion*, 1933.

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If this idea of love (implicit in the Christian doctrine of equality) had gained the upper hand, Europe to-day would be nothing but a mass of many hundred millions stripped bare of any character, governed by fear of Purgatory and eternal pains in Hell, paralysed by 'Love' in the fight for Honour. . . . These were the conditions which the Roman system tried to establish. . . .

The dogmas of an all-embracing love and of the equality of all human beings before God on the one hand, and the doctrine on the other, of democratic 'human rights' founded neither on race nor on national honour, were the bases on which the European commonwealth developed. These dogmas thus became the protector of all things and beings inferior, ill, crippled, criminal and rotten. . . . A nation whose central idea was honour and duty, would not preserve decadents and criminals, but would eliminate them. . . .

Germanic life became problematic only when the new (Roman-Christian) values had won equality with the highest Germanic values of Honour, Freedom, Pride and Courage. This conflict tears at the heart of Europe and is to-day the deepest cause of our lack of a style of soul (*Seelenstil*), of culture and of a national State. Love and Christianity have *not* put an end to 'German self-mutilation.' On the contrary, they are responsible for the fact that the fight of all against all has flared up even more.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

The question of the divinity of Christ is ridiculous and unessential.

DR. H. KERRL.

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. . . We respect the personality of Jesus, without, however, 'longing for Him' (*doch ohn' Verlangen!*). Jesus is not the leader for the life of our soul or for the endeavours of our spirit. He is not, for us, the Saviour, without whom we would be doomed to death and damnation. It is the loftiness of His personality alone and its influence over two thousand years which inspires us with admiration. But our guide is nothing else than our own innate nature, which God gave us to lead us on our way. . . .

COUNT REVENTLOW.

None can meet Him [Jesus] without being seized with admiration for His heroic greatness, for His unexampled power of love, and the readiness to sacrifice Himself for His mission. . . . Many of His words and deeds can inspire us Germans to the bottom of our souls. . . . But foreign to us are His belief in the devil, in the Last Judgment and everlasting damnation, and in His own return on the clouds of Heaven to admit none but redeemed sinners into the Kingdom of God. However harsh it may sound to many ears, the question of Jesus is *not* a vital problem to the youth of Germany.

PROFESSOR ERNST HAUER : *Germanic Vision of God.*

Once and for all, the so-called Old Testament must be abolished as a book of religion. That would remove the abortive attempt of the last 1,500 years to turn us, spiritually, into Jews, an attempt which has also supplied us with the present materialistic supremacy of the Jew. A striving man . . . would, therefore, have to strengthen the movement which seeks to eliminate from the New Testament some of its obviously misplaced and superstitious gospel accounts. The fifth

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Gospel can, however, not be decided upon by a synod. It will be the creation of one man. . . .

One can interpret the story of Jesus very differently. . . . It was in the interest of the imperious Roman Church to represent submissive humility as Christ's nature. To rectify this presentation is a further indispensable demand of the German movement of renewal. Jesus appears to us to-day as a Master sure of Himself. . . . The formidable preacher and the scornful one in the Temple ; the man who dominates, and whom ' all of them ' followed ; NOT the lamb of sacrifice of the Jewish prophecy, not the Crucified one, is to-day the formative ideal, which shines out to us from the gospels. And if it cannot shine from them, then the gospels themselves are dead. . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

National Socialism must not be judged from a Biblical or Ecclesiastical standpoint ; it is the Bible and the Church which must be judged from a Nazi standpoint. The Nazi state embodies the totality of God.

DR. KRAUSE.

A German religious movement will have to declare that the ideal of neighbourly charity must implicitly be subordinated to the idea of National teaching ; that no action may be approved by a German National Church which does not first of all serve the security of the German people. Here is shown once more the insoluble antagonism to a point of view which openly declares that the claims of the Church stand higher than those of the Nation.

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A German state must . . . pledge all its ministers of religion to the oath to guard the honour of the nation. . . . Apart from this, it will be the main task of the German Order to endeavour to create a German National Church in the service of the Mythos of the Nation. . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

German Idealism is the final victory ; no reversion to Christian tradition exists any more for the religious and creative essence of the German people. This period is one of the greatest periods in the history of the Indo-Germanic Faith stretching over thousands of years.

PROFESSOR ERNST HAUER.

The German character, after a very short period, arose and in powerful resistance has freed itself from being partially dominated by the Christian religion and has conquered it from within in less than a thousand years.

PROFESSOR ERNST HAUER.

By the introduction of Christianity our sense of law was subjected to the pressure of an alien system. To overcome this position is our sacred duty. . . . The equal right of everyone who bears a human face is an achievement of Christianity and the later Roman ideas which penetrated with it and which put masters and slaves in a common footing and so destroyed the blood group (*Sippe*). . . .

It was Houston Stewart Chamberlain who wrote :
' Christianity does not mean a strengthening of the

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family. On the contrary its essential nature is to destroy legal and political bonds and throw each individual upon himself. As an outflow of Jewry, Christianity is at its root an anarchic power, and anti-political.'

PROFESSOR TIRALA.

VI

THE MISSION OF THE NORDIC-GERMANIC RACE

It is an established fact that the race of our forefathers, the Nordic race, has had from the very beginning a culture which enabled it to outshine all others. Even by their outward appearance alone, the Nordic peoples seem destined to assume the rôle of leader which destiny reserved for them . . . Where the struggle for existence assumed its severest forms, where the utmost energy and preparedness to sacrifice in the interests of the community were at work, that is where the race which until now has guided the fate of the world, came into being. It is the same Nordic race which provided the leaders of the Indian, Persian, Roman, Greek and Western cultures. . . . The struggle which we are waging to-day for our existence, internally as well as externally, is seen in this light, not only a struggle for our people as such, but a struggle for the preservation of Nordic humanity and the Nordic leadership of the world.

SIEGFRIED KADNER : *Deutsche Vaterkunde*
(*German Ancestry*), 1935.

The National State was the ideal of the great French Revolution. The racial Empire is the child of the great National-Socialist revolution. . . . The

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National State, therefore, must disappear—it must be transformed into the racial Empire.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Will-to-possession is the Nordic *meaning of life*. It controls and shapes our whole history, commencing from the conquering expeditions of semi-mythical kings down to the form of the family at the present day, which dies when the idea of property fades out. Where the instinct for this is lacking, *race* is not.

OSWALD SPENGLER.

And when the German-Nordic man has set his foot upon the last strip of conquered land, he will take the crown of the world and lay it at God's feet, in order that he may be crowned by the Almighty.

DR. WILHELM STAPEL : *Der
Christliche Staatmann.*

It is my inmost conviction—gained through years of study, gained in those solemn hours when the soul wrestles for knowledge—with the Divine, like Jacob with the Angel—that the moral and spiritual salvation of mankind depends upon what we can call German. In that 'Moral Order of the world' . . . the German element is now the corner-stone ; it is the central pivot.

. . . Viewed from the standpoint of a moral world-order, the Anglo-Saxons have forfeited their inheritance—I am not speaking of to-day but looking forward into the centuries.

HOUSTON S. CHAMBERLAIN to the Kaiser, 1901.
From Wickham Steed's *Hitler : Whence and
Whither ?*

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England has fallen completely into the hands of the Jews and the Americans. Hence no man understands this war (1914-18) unless he holds the German idea that, in its deepest depth, it is the war of Jewry and of closely related Americanism for the mastery of the world—a war against Christianity, against the education of the spirit, against moral power, against unmercenary art, against any and every ideal view of life, a war for a world in which there shall be only finance, factories and trade; in brief, unlimited plutocracy. . . . Since we Germans love words that put things in a nutshell we can sum up thus: it is the war of modern mechanical ‘civilization’ against the immemorial sacred ‘Kultur’ of chosen races and man, a ‘Kultur’ that is eternally in process of rebirth.

HOUSTON S. CHAMBERLAIN to the Kaiser, 1917.

From Wickham Steed's *Hitler: Whence and Whither?*

To save Europe it is necessary above all to strengthen the Nordic sources of blood, that is of Germany, Scandinavia, Finland and England. The influence of France must be restricted in order to prevent her from becoming ‘the deploying ground of Africa. . . .’ France would (then) be left to her self-chosen fate without her having poisoned . . . the whole of Europe.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

All the human culture of to-day—the results of art, science and technique—are almost exclusively creative products of the Aryan race. This fact substantiates the theory that the Aryan alone is the creator of higher humanity and that he therefore represents the proto-

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type of what we understand by the word : ' Man.' He is the Prometheus of Humanity. . . . If Humanity were divided into three separate sections, the founders of culture, the bearers of culture and the destroyers of culture—the Aryans alone would represent the first category.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

Only complete reversion and terrible harshness can save Aryan civilization. No morality really matters except ' biological morality '. The one supreme idea of the State is to produce a noble race, and this can only be realized by a dictatorial régime, by the suppression of the Jews, by castration of the unfit, and polygamy (by Decree if necessary) for those males who are selected to breed.

FRANZ HAISER.

The new aristocracy will arise in this way. We shall gather in the best blood only. Just as we have again produced the old Hanover type of horse from sires and dams who had little of the old purity left, so we shall again, in the course of generations, breed the pure type of the Nordic German by means of successive crossing. Perhaps we shall not be able to purify the whole of the German nation again. But the new German aristocracy will be a pure breed in the literal sense of the term.

WALTER DARRÉ.

We Germans can be proud that wherever Nordic blood dominates, crime occurs very seldom. The purer the German tribe, the more seldom the criminal.

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In Europe one has almost the impression that criminals belong to another race than European.

PROFESSOR TIRALA : *Rasse, Geist und Seele*
(*Race, Mind and Soul*), 1935.

The yellow, brown, and black races are continually increasing : our birth-rate will not long suffice to maintain our numbers.

A Poster in a permanent Exhibition
of German Life and Work.

A decline in the numbers of a race involves a decline in quality and makes its downfall inevitable. We Germans are determined to live for hundreds and thousands of years.

A Poster in a Eugenics' Exhibition.

It [outlook on life] grows out of that blood, out of the thoughts, feelings and judgments which belong to the racial being within. No teaching can influence this. Everything is brought with us into the world, not as the gift of an angel or devil, but as a gift, a disposition coming from our ancestors. . . .

Is the religion life-affirming or life-denying? Does it belong to the race or is it alien? These are two different questions. For there are life-denying religions which for peoples who want to die are appropriate. I point out that the pessimistic Christianity of the chaos of peoples in the Mediterranean during the first thousand years A.D. was appropriate (*artrecht*). They were so corrupted with Oriental, Asiatic, Western and pre-Celtic blood that they were right in choosing a religion which found refuge in the flight from this life and in supernatural mercy. . . . I believe it would have

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been a sin for such a people to propagate themselves . . . conversely, such a religion for a healthy race can act as a deadly poison.

PROFESSOR TIRALA : *Rasse, Geist und Seele*
(*Race, Mind and Soul*), 1935.

The National-Socialist Movement will only achieve its aim if it rises to the pure moral and spiritual heights of the teaching of the greatest of all anti-semitists and anti-materialists of all times, the Hero of Nazareth.

. . . The international power of Jewry is based in the last analysis on the myth which represents it as the chosen people of God, in the eyes of Aryan humanity. Jewry knows this very well and therefore makes alliances with the Christian Churches wherever and whenever it can, although it hates them fanatically, and the official Christian Church of both confessions on its side protects the equally hated Jewry again and again as its mightiest ally.

The different races are embodiments of different types of spirits. The lower a race, the lower are the spirits embodied in it. In Negroes, for instance, spirits of an undeveloped intelligence are embodied. . . . In the highest race of men, the Aryans, there are spirits of highly developed intelligence, but they are still in bitter conflict with their egotism. In the Jews, too, there are spirits of highly developed intelligence, but they use their intelligence deliberately for selfish purposes and are always trying by their materialistic arts of seduction to drive the spirits of Aryans, who are still in conflict with themselves, back on to the wrong paths of selfishness. . . .

The Jews are incarnations of those selfish and fallen spirits who, in the primeval age of the 'Spiritual

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Creation' (*Geistes schöpfung*), through ambition and selfishness, caused hosts of spirits to revolt against God. . . .

God permits the activities of the Jews so as to allow Aryan humanity, through the suffering brought upon itself by its selfish indulgence of these infernal powers, to grow ripe for knowledge and conversion. . . . The Jewish question will, therefore, never be solved by physical force but only through spiritual powers. . . . But we Germans can only solve the Jewish problem for ourselves and for the Aryan race as a whole, by being as German as possible, that is as truthful and unselfish as possible towards our own people. . . .

The Jews, like any other spirits created by God, however low they have fallen, can return to God through a conversion and through conquering their selfishness. . . . We cannot help pitying a Jew who has thus come to knowledge of himself. He is a truly tragic creature. But our pity must not become weakness. . . . It is our national duty to refuse him membership of our community and especially blood relationship, for the products of mixed marriages can only be the habitations of low types of spirits. . . . The racial guilt of a Jew who has thus achieved inner conversion must . . . be worked out in his earthly life. There is thus nothing for him but to bear his lot heroically, lead a quiet and humble life and not to intrude on the Aryan national community.

DR. ARTUR DINTER : 197 *Thesen zur Vollendung der Reformation*, 1933.

Humanity, the all-embracing Church and the sovereign individual who have freed themselves from blood ties, no longer represent to us absolute values,

but doubtful or even perishing dogmas. They lack polarity and represent a violation of nature for the sake of mere abstractions. . . . To-day, however, a whole generation is beginning to see that values are created and preserved only where the law of the blood still determines the ideas and the actions of men, be it consciously or unconsciously. In the prehistoric ages man follows the blood demands in life and cult as in a dream. . . . Later . . . in the process of civilization, he becomes more and more intellectual. This leads finally not to creative conflicts but to division. Thus, reason turns away from race and species. The individual detached from the ties of blood and from the sequence of the generations, falls a victim to absolute abstractions . . . and mixes with alien blood. The result of this incest is the death of personality, nation, race and civilization. No one who has defied the religion of the blood has ever escaped this vengeance of the blood, neither Indians nor Persians, neither Greeks nor Romans. Nor will Nordic Europe escape the same vengeance if it does not turn back. . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

For a long time it was a dogma that genius and in particular scientific genius was the international flower on the tree of universal culture. It was said: the great discoveries of a Newton or a Faraday were understood and assimilated by all people capable of education; hence the contribution of this genius is 'international.' This is an error. For the taking over of a discovery is quite another thing than the discovery itself. . . . Genius does not fall from the sky and does not appear by accident in the landscape. . . . It belongs usually to a well-defined race. Woltmann has

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shown for the first time, on the basis of well-documented material, that nearly the whole of the genius of Italy in the Renaissance is the Germanic-Nordic race, whether one starts with Leonardo or Titian or Galileo.

PROFESSOR TIRALA.

. . . 'Nordic Europe' is the slogan of the future with a German Central Europe. Germany is a racial and national state, as a central power of the Continent as 'Guardian of the South and South-East; with the Scandinavian states and Finland to safeguard the North-East, with England in charge of the West and overseas, wherever the interests of Nordic Man require it.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

An America cleansed of all her black, yellow and Jewish elements and with a purely Nordic-European population will be a thousand times more powerful than a state polluted by alien blood, however large her colonies may be and however many strategic points they may contain for her Navy.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Our whole history, our German and our European future, all alike turn round this central axis of the appreciation of the 'idea of honour.' The ancient *Nordic* man, even though he was brutal—whether in war or death—created a pure atmosphere, emanating from his honour-conscious mind. . . .

This claim for responsibility, put before each single individual, was the most effective check against every form of moral decadence. . . . Time and again the decay was camouflaged by the masses in the form of

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democracy, of 'social pity' of 'humility' and
love. . . .

The history of Western nations in the course of time
and due to various circumstances, developed in a most
manifold way. But wherever *Nordic* blood exists the
conception of Honour is alive. . . .

No people in Europe consists of a homogeneous
race, nor is this the case—according to recent investi-
gations, in Germany. There are about five different
races. . . . But there is no doubt that the Nordic
race, first of all, has been the bearer of all genuine
culture, in Europe. The great heroes, the artists, the
founders of states are the offspring of the Nordic race.
. . . Nordic blood first of all . . . moulded *German*
life. . . .

'*German*' is identical with *Nordic*. German influence,
too, has been the culture and type-creating power in
the Western (*wetisch*) Dinaric and Eastern-Baltic races.
Even a mainly Dinaric type is often dominated by a
Nordic soul. To stress the significance of the *Nordic*
race in Germany does not imply 'race hatred.' On
the contrary, it means . . . the acknowledgment of a
link through blood in our national community. . . .

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

That the human race of Western Civilization is still
alive in spite of having been Christianized is due only
to the entry of the healthy German peoples in history.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN : *The Formative
Land of the New Humanity.*

What you preach is liberalism, nothing but liberalism.
There is only one possible kind of revolution, and it is
not economic, or political, or social, but racial, and

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it will always be the same ; the struggle of inferior classes and inferior races against the superior races who are in the saddle. On the day the superior race forgets this, it is lost. All revolutions—and I have studied them carefully—have been racial. When you read Rosenberg's new book [*The Myth of the Twentieth Century*] you will understand these things, for it is the most powerful book of its kind, greater even than Houston Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. Your ideas of foreign policy are false because you have no racial knowledge. Didn't you declare openly for the Indian Independence Movement when it was obviously a rebellion of the inferior Hindu race against the valorous Anglo-Nordic ? The Nordic race has the right to dominate the world, and that right will be the guiding principle of our foreign policy. That is why any alliance with Russia, a Slav-Tartar body surmounted by a Jewish head, is out of the question. I knew those Slavs in my own country ! When a German head dominated them, Germany could make a common cause with them, as it did in Bismarck's time. To-day it would be a crime.

HITLER to Otto Strasser.

VII

THE PATTERN OF NAZI FREEDOM

THE Nation and not the Individual is the first concern of the Law.

A Party Slogan.

Not only the individual, but all cultural organizations have therefore in the last resort to serve the community of the people, and it is in relation to this that they get their meaning and justification. To this extent only a political activity is to be recognized and tolerated in the life of the people. Therefore economics, law, science, art, religion have no 'independence'; they have all to be political. Thus, even law is to be determined in a way that is at variance with the formal conception hitherto prevailing. What serves the state is right, what injures it is wrong.

PROFESSOR WILHELM SAUSER : *Philosophy of the Law and of the State*, 1936.

There is no freedom of the individual. There is only freedom of peoples, nations or races; for these are the only material and historical realities through which the life of the individual exists.

DR. OTTO DIETRICH, addressing students of the University of Berlin, 1937.

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Equality before the Law will be conceded to all who assist the national cause and do not refuse to support the Government.

HITLER, Speech, 1933.

The denial of the right of freedom of movement is a prerequisite for the whole of our future life and must be insisted upon, even if millions consider these 'restrictions on personal liberty' as harmful. One choice only is left : 'voluntarily' to die in a miserable way on the pavement, or to be 'compelled' to a healthy regeneration in the country or in smaller towns.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

The Great War was the birth-hour, on the military side, of the new spirit, which prepared and brought about the end of liberalism.

PROFESSOR HANS ZIEGLER.

The National-Socialist Party is the only political Party in Germany. Whoever undertakes to maintain the organization of another political party, or to form a new political party, is to be punished with imprisonment in a penitentiary up to three years, or with imprisonment from six months to three years, unless the act is punishable by a severe penalty under other provisions.

Law, 1933.

I repeat that, as far as we are concerned, the nation is divided into two parts : those who belong to National Socialism and those who oppose us. I am not impartial and don't propose to be. On the contrary I intend to

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be partial. I stand by National Socialism, and I fight everything else.

Surely, it is only natural that we should ask the people not to buy from Jews any longer, but from Germans? I will send my police wherever German interests require protection, but the police are not maintained to defend Jews. The German Nation has awakened at last!

We are reproached with having prohibited many newspapers. The only thing that surprises me is that a few hostile sheets are still allowed to appear in the country. I should be neglecting my responsibilities if I did not stop the spread of this poison among the German people. It is quite possible that we have made mistakes in this connection, but at all events we have acted. I am in the habit of shooting from time to time; and if sometimes I shoot beyond the mark, at least I have shot!

GÖRING, Speech, 1933.

Discussion of matters affecting our existence and that of the nation must cease altogether. Anyone who dares to question the rightness of the National-Socialist outlook will be branded as a traitor.

SAUCKEL, Governor of Thuringia, 1933.

Out of the national soul emerges the law from which the National-Socialist leader derives his legitimacy and his authority. He is not an organ of will superior to the people, but instrument of the will of the people which exists in him. Who rules the people of its own will, and who expresses the character of the National-Socialist state in two syllables, we know as *The Leader*.

Leader is the opposite of magistrate. Who leads does not determine the objectives arbitrarily and by

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himself; that is done by the led. The led are the people. But the Leader knows the goal and knows the direction. . . . Who carries this spirit in him, who knows the direction, that person is the Leader.

From *Deutsches Kulturrecht*, 1936.

It [the Youth] may not always be able to reason out the motives for its unconditional allegiance to the Führer—that is the way of youth. But when the question ‘why’ is put, it will always find the cry with which the Hitler-Youth follows the Führer all his ways: ‘The Führer is always right! Our life for the Führer.’

VON SCHIRACH, from *A Manifesto*, 1934.

To be a National Socialist means to believe in and fight for Adolf Hitler; it means likewise to be an opponent of everything that cannot be reconciled with our faith.

S.A. Mann, official organ of
Storm Troopers, 1938.

The National Laws can be enacted by the *Reich's* Cabinet as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the Constitution. . . . The *Reich* Laws enacted by the *Reich's* Cabinet may deviate from the Constitution in so far as they do not affect the position of the *Reichstag* and the *Reichsrat*.

Law, 1933.

It is the prejudice of formal liberal legality that objectivity must be the idol of judgment. It goes without saying that the justice of a nation grappling

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in a life and death struggle cannot worship at the shrine of dead objectivity.

DR. H. KERRL.

I am quite aware that many of my instructions conflict with the existing law, as regards both the *Reich* and the provinces. I expect, however, that my subordinate administrative officers and jurists will find the proper way of resolving this contradiction. I, at any rate, will protect every official who follows my instructions without reservations of any kind. Even with regard to the criminal side, the officials will be completely protected by me ; whether the state can be made liable by any legal proceedings has become a matter of complete indifference. . . . On the other hand, it is no concern of any police officer or any authority what goes on in the official quarters of the S.A. and the S.S. Even if piles of arms lie in these quarters, no official is to search them. Any officer who, contrary to this clear instruction, enters such an establishment to carry out a police measure will be summarily dismissed by me from the service. Even if any contraventions of the existing laws should proceed from these establishments, the police have no right to enter them. In such case the institution of searches will be reserved to the accredited leaders of the S.A. and the S.S.

GÖRING, Speech at a conference of Lord-lieutenants and presidents of provincial councils, 1933.

The Parliament of the individual states are abolished. The sovereign rights of the states are transferred to the *Reich*. The *Reich* Governors receive their instructions

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from the *Reich* Minister of the Interior. The *Reich* Government is empowered to frame and establish new Constitutional Law.

Proclamation, Jan. 1934.

In the National-Socialist conception of the state the problem of protecting the individual against the state does not arise. National Socialism defends the people as a whole against the individual, when and wherever his interests are not in harmony with the general welfare of the whole German people. . . .

Since the state consists of the totality of its citizens, united in a common destiny by common blood and a common philosophy of life and comprised in a single Party organization, it is neither necessary nor possible to define a sphere of freedom for the individual citizen as against the state. . . .

Our Constitutional Law is based on the National-Socialist philosophy of life and is expressed in the general order of the Nation. So far as this general order is formulated in proportions, legal principles or grammatical statements, the supreme constitutional foundation of the Third *Reich* is laid down in the Party Programmes. . . .

It is superfluous to add that laws dealing with, for example, the purity of blood, health, etc., and those dealing with compulsory Military Service and Labour Service are to be regarded as Fundamental Laws. The totality of fundamental laws of the state is what we understand by the term 'the constitution.'

From the *Beamtenkalender*, 1937.

The Hindenburg oak tree, planted on Labour Day in the Tempelhof field, was destroyed by unknown

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communists on the night of the 27th July [1933]. As a counter-measure, the Secret State Police Department has ordered that all communists under preventive arrest shall go without their dinners for three days.

An Announcement of the Prussian Government, July 28th, 1933.

I do not think it necessary to point out that the police must, in all circumstances, avoid even the appearance of a hostile attitude towards, or even the impression of any persecution of, the national associations and parties. I expect rather from all the police authorities that they will create and maintain the best understanding with the organizations referred to above, in the ranks of which the most important forces of political reconstruction are to be found. Moreover, every kind of activity for national purposes and national propaganda is to be thoroughly supported. On the other hand, the activities of organizations hostile to the state are to be suppressed by the strongest measures possible. With communist terrorism and raids there must be no trifling, and, when necessary, revolvers must be used without regard to consequences. Police officers who fire their revolvers in the execution of their duty, will be protected by me without regard to the consequences of using their weapons. But officers who fail out of mistaken regard for consequences must expect disciplinary action to be taken against them. The protection of the national populace, who are continually cramped in their activity, demands the strictest application of the legal regulations governing prohibited demonstrations, prohibited meetings, plundering, incitements to high-treason, mass-strikes, revolts, press offences, and all other punishable activities of the

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disturbers of law and order. No officer should lose sight of the fact that failure to adopt a measure is more heinous than the making of mistakes in its application. I hope and expect that all officers will feel at one with me in our common purpose of saving our Fatherland from threatened calamity by the strengthening and consolidation of all our national forces.

A manifesto to the Prussian Police by
Göring, February 17th, 1933.

The masses who have now withdrawn into private life to escape the attentions of the Gestapo will then [in the event of a war] be dragged out of their isolation willy-nilly. They will be soldiers, and as soldiers they will face death at the front. To-day active opposition is threatened with death. . . . In the event of war, however, whilst the penalty for opposition will be death, every man will face death in any case if he is at the front. In other words, the masses who are now secretly in opposition to National Socialism will no longer be able to avoid danger by flight in the next war. They will be threatened by death on two sides.

FRITZ STERNBERG.

The great masses of workers want nothing else than bread and amusement. They have no understanding of (national) idealism, and we can never count upon being able to gain any considerable support among them. What we want is a selected number of men from the new ruling class who . . . are not troubled with humanitarian feelings but who are convinced that they have the right to rule as being a superior breed, and who will secure and maintain their rule ruthlessly over the masses.

HITLER, at a Party gathering, 1930.

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National Socialism, the motto of which is the welding of Party and State, is now on the verge of its goal. The only right of citizens is to work as cogs in the new society for the rebuilding of the state. The time is past when they are able to exercise the right of a governing class and the power to organize parties.

Deutsche Allegemeine Zeitung, 1933.

The National-Socialist Government has dissolved the Trade Unions and the Federations of employers. It will oppose anyone and anything tending to divide the people into groups. Every factory and every undertaking constitutes a unit, and nothing must be done to interfere with its unity. Works leaders and employees must decide for themselves, as far as this is possible, how matters are to be arranged.

DR. LEY : *Germany Speaks, 1938.*

Germany's social policy is a healthy combination of freedom and compulsion. No other policy would enable the country's predominantly industrial population to preserve its continued existence on the relatively limited space within which it is confined. Beyond that, the new social order pays one regard to such specifically German character traits as a sense of honour, loyalty, comradeship, fairness, collaboration, and a pronounced love of nature. All these characteristics were temporarily submerged owing to the soulless mechanization typical of some aspects of modern civilization. No correct appreciation of Germany's new social order would be complete if it confined itself to a study of the institutional innovations. The spirit that has created the new forms and that finds its

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expression in them is far more important than these can ever be.

DR. LEY : *Germany Speaks*, 1938.

The freedom of the Press is a phantom, a mere label. There is not, and never has been, freedom of the Press in any part of the world. One should have sufficient feeling for realities to admit this fact. The Press is always dependent, and always under obligations to someone. The only question is, to whom? To business and party politics, to the anonymous power of gold and destruction of order and morals, or to the responsible statesmen and Government?

DR. OTTO DIETRICH : *Germany Speaks*, 1938.

Freedom in Germany is not destroyed ; it rather begins to-day in a real creative sense. It involves the duty to be socially creative out of a spiritual principle of unity. The German journalist, for example, will only be able to discharge this duty, if he identifies himself with the creative idea of the state.

GEORGE FOERSTER : *Freedom in the Authoritarian State*, 1933.

Hear nothing that we do not wish you to hear.
See nothing that we do not wish you to see.
Believe nothing that we do not wish you to believe.
Think nothing that we do not wish you to think.

GOEBBELS.

Freedom, in the Germanic sense, means independence of mind, free possibilities of enquiry, the creation of a philosophy of the world, a genuine religious freedom. For Asiatic invaders and dark hybrids on the

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other hand, freedom means unrestrained destruction of cultural values. . . . To grant outer 'freedom' to-day to Czechs, Poles and Levantines means to be delivered over to racial chaos. Freedom means to be bound by the ties of race . . . and this demands *protection* of the race.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

In the midst of an effeminate world which is breaking down, Germanism to-day demands: authority, type-creating power, self-control, discipline, self-sufficiency, protection of the racial character and acknowledgment of the eternal polarity of the sexes. . . .

The holiest and greatest task of womanhood to-day is to preach the gospel of the preservation and purification of our race. . . .

Emancipation of woman from the women's emancipation movement is the first demand of a generation of women who want to save from destruction people and race, those eternal and unconscious values which are the basis of all culture.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

The granting to women of a permanent influence in state affairs necessarily characterizes a period of decay.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

The woman's place is in the home; her duty the recreation of the tired warrior. There is no higher or finer privilege for a woman than that of sending her children to war.

From a Declaration of the Women's Order.

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Truth is the revelation of that which makes a people certain, clear and strong in its action and knowledge.

PROFESSOR MARTIN HEIDEGGER.

The mind does not derive any abstract rule from without ; nor does it move towards any external aim. Nowise does it proceed ' out of itself,' but ' comes to itself.' This implies an entirely different conception of truth. For us true and false are not a matter of logic. We demand an organic reply to the question : ' fruitful or unfruitful, dictating its own laws and unfree ? '

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Der Mythos.*

Science is a social phenomenon, and like every other phenomenon is limited by the benefit or injury it confers on the community. The slogan of objective science has been coined by the professoriate simply in order to escape from the very necessary supervision by the power of the state. What is called the crisis of science is nothing more than that the gentlemen are beginning to see of their own accord how they have gone off the line with their objectivity and independence. The simple question that precedes every scientific activity is : who is it who wants to know something, who is it who wants to find how he stands in the world around him ? It follows necessarily that there can only be the science of a particular type of humanity and of a particular age. It is reasonable to say that there is a Nordic science, and a National-Socialist science, which are bound to be opposed to the Liberal-Jewish science, which, indeed, is no longer fulfilling its function anywhere, but is in process of stultifying itself.

HITLER to Rauschning.

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The old idea of science based on the sovereign right of abstract intellectual activity has gone for ever. The new science is entirely different from the idea of knowledge that found its value in an unchecked effort to reach the truth. The true freedom of science is to be an organ of a nation's living strength and of its historic fate and to present this obedience to the law of truth.

DR. RUST, the Minister of Education, at
the centenary of Heidelberg University.

Science is a mode of thought invented and built up by men of Nordic race, in order to comprehend as a process of law the world of appearances.

PROFESSOR TIRALA.

We accept scientific theories not as axioms but as postulates, in the absence of an authoritative body of opinion to the contrary effect. We do the same to-day with political theories. We can see no flaw in the Führer's reasoning : difficulties ? yes ; doubts ? yes ; alternatives ? none. What we want to-day is unity. Where did the intellectuals lead us ? Into a barren wilderness where was neither hope nor love of each other or our country or race ; and without these what is there in life ?

A Nazi youth to Sir Arnold Wilson, 1934.

If what we have done here is lunacy, then lunacy becomes us.

GÖRING, at a Conference of the Foreign Press.

VIII

THE GLORIFICATION OF WAR

MAN is a beast of prey. I shall say it again and again. All the would-be moralists and social-ethics people who claim or hope to be 'beyond all that' are only beasts of prey with their teeth broken, who hate others on account of the attacks which they themselves are wise enough to avoid. Only look at them. They are too weak to read a book on war, but they herd together in the street to see an accident, letting the blood and the screams play on their nerves. And if even that is too much for them, they enjoy it on the film and in the illustrated papers. If I call man a beast of prey, which do I insult: man or beast? For remember, the larger beasts of prey are *noble* creatures, perfect of their kind, and without the hypocrisy of human morals due to weakness.

OSWALD SPENGLER: *The Hour of Decision*, 1934.

The moral law in us demands heroic struggle for Nordic dominion and Nordic law in war and peace. Nordic Man considers the principle of struggle to be inherent in the universe. Though he will refrain from vain struggle, he is prepared to face the inevitable one. He is conscious that the wars of the present day and of the future are waged for the prevalence of spiritual powers in the world and he is aware that these wars will be at the same time racial and religious wars.

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He therefore finds it his moral duty to struggle for the victory of his faith and his kind in the land of the Nordic peoples and for Nordic power and Nordic right.

DR. WILHELM KUSSEROW.

War means the highest intensification not of the material means only, but of all spiritual energies of an age as well ; it means the utmost effort of the *Volk's* mental forces and the will of the state towards self-preservation and power, spirit and action forming an inseparable link. Indeed war provides the fruitful ground on which the human soul may manifest itself at its fullest height in richer forms and surging from more profound depths than it might in any scientific or artistic exploit as such. Nowhere else can the will, the achievements of a race or a state rise into being thus integrally as in war. War is a purifying bath of steel from which new impulses arise, and war is an infallible test of fitness of manhood.

PROFESSOR E. BANSE.

Peace among nations is a beautiful dream, but that is all ; it cannot be realized because life is a struggle, the life of nations as well. . . .

Those who are not blind or pacifist dreamers must realize that everything which aims at overcoming national barriers (race, language, history, national individuality, etc.) through pacts which outlaw war, leagues of nations and international understanding, are bound to fail and that the natural condition of international relations in the twentieth century will be a latent or open state of war between nations.

PROFESSOR ERNST BERGMANN.

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Here we will not speak the warm words of peace, the words Home and Fatherland. Our words are spoken in the face of the awful summons of war. Youths, your hands are now raised in an oath before this monument [a war memorial in Westphalia] which is erected to the sublimity of bloodshed—and Michael is the Angel of Death—and you are swearing that your lives belong to the *Reich* and your blood to the Leader.

The Hitler-Youth Leader, Speech, 1933.

War is eternal, war is universal. There is no beginning and there is no peace. War is life. Any struggle is war. War is the origin of all things. Let us go back to primitive life, the life of the savages. What is war but cunning, deception, delusion, attack and enterprise? People have killed only when they could not achieve their aim in other ways. Merchants, robbers, warriors—at one time, all these were one. There is a broadened strategy, a war with intellectual weapons.

HITLER to Rauschning.

War is the most simple affirmation of life. Suppress war, and it would be like trying to suppress the process of nature.

GOEBBELS.

War is the climax of human achievement. War is the natural and last phase of development in the history of mankind. War is the father of all things, and, at the same time, it prepares the end of a period of time for a nation in order to be the originator of a new development.

GENERAL VON SEECKT.

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War is the father of all things. Have not our history lessons taught us all about the continuous struggle of one nation against another? Did we not learn the truth of the proverb: 'Freedom and life are only for those who are ready to fight?' All earthly things perish, but death alone provides us with eternal peace.

From an Annual for the Hitler-Youth, 1935.

Just as from time to time catastrophes have overwhelmed mankind, as the result of a state of tension in the universe or in the earth, so the tension that arises from conflicts between nations, from pressure and counter-pressure in the life of states, has always led—when it became insoluble—to a forcible outbreak, to war; and it will always be the same in the future. No attempts to abolish war as a decisive factor, or at least to soften its horrors, can make any real difference. They find expression in pacifism, which spreads in the most varied forms, particularly after long and arduous wars; in the main they are to be regarded as a symptom of exhaustion and decadence, which sees only the negative, destructive and revolting side of war. This conception comes fundamentally from an egotistical over-valuing of life, of material well-being, and of the intellectual and physical possessions that have been gained in time of peace, as well as from an unheroic outlook in life.

Handbook of Modern Military Science by the
German General Staff, 1936.

Neither the biological nor the spiritual forces of a nation are inexhaustible. A war waged energetically and consciously for the purpose of spiritually breaking

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and destroying these nations can be a death blow especially for those civilized nations whose elasticity [the reference is to Britain] and whose powers of regeneration [the reference is to France] have already suffered to a considerable degree. Many an apparently invincible Colossus in reality stands on feet of clay, and what one or two generations ago was impossible has to-day already become possible : with a single powerful blow to break a nation's spiritual backbone, to destroy it for ever and trample it in the dust.

Deutsche Wehr, 1935.

The world knows to-day, and politicians of other nations have to recognize this fact, that thanks are due to the Führer alone that the peace of Europe was preserved during the past year when it was in grave danger. His prudent hand and reassuring declarations have shown him to be a statesman of world-wide capacity. Germans abroad need no longer be ashamed of their Fatherland. They can indeed be proud of it. No doubt many other nations prefer that other Germany which bowed to every foreign dictate, no matter how humiliating or deadly—the Germany of party strife, self-mutilation, economic decay, unemployment, Bolshevik disintegration. They would have preferred Germany to yield up the *Reichswehr's* last machine-guns. Prowling foxes always prefer helpless mice to prickly hedgehogs.

In the fable of Wilhelm Busch, the fox on meeting a hedgehog said to him : ' Don't you know that peace has been declared, and that it is a crime against the King's command to go armed? Hand over your skin.' And the hedgehog replied : ' First have your

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teeth drawn, then we can talk.' Thereupon he curled himself into a ball with projected spikes and faced the world armed but peaceful.

In spite of a promise of a once confiding hedgehog, the other nations have shown that they were not willing to have their teeth drawn and so should not now take it amiss if the hedgehog, grown wise, prefers to possess defensive spikes. This is certainly safest for peace between fox and hedgehog.

DR. RUDOLF HESS: Broadcast address
on Christmas Day, 1934.

The National-Socialist state is a military state, and one of its essential features is that it tolerates and encourages within its borders only such ideals as are calculated to increase its political strength (*Macht-politik*). . . . The question of increasing armed strength must not be regarded purely as a military matter: it has also economic and psychological significance.

GENERAL VON METZSCH: *Wehrpolitik*.

War has become a form of existence with the same rights as peace. A new world has arisen for which war is positively the promise and the measure of all things, and in which the Army must determine the law and govern everything. Social life on the basis of peace is to be reorganized on the basis of war. No human or social activity has any justification unless it assists in the preparation for war. Totalitarianism in warfare means that the moment war begins each private life ceases, and the nation as a whole has one reason for existence only: *War*. It may not, it cannot, think of anything else. The idea of war is its

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only passion, its only pleasure, its vice and its sport ; in short, it is completely possessed.

Deutsche Wehr.

In the humdrum life of every day it is only too often overlooked what immense psychic forces become active in man when in a tattered regimental flag he beholds himself, sees a bit of himself in all the deeds of the regiment throughout many centuries, the works of his ancestors. The sailor who, standing on the keel of the *Nuremberg*, sank into the deep before the eyes of the enemy with the waving German colours in his hand ; the nameless officer of the *Magdeburg* who put the secret code into his pocket and drowned himself with it—these are parables, myths, types, which have not had their recognition in the present chaos. It is a matter of indifference whether we rightly appreciate Gothic, Baroque, Romanticism : what is important is not the expression of Nordic blood in these forms, but the fact that this blood after all still exists, the fact that it still throbs with the ancient will-power. The field-grey army of the German people was the proof of a willingness for sacrifice such as creates myths. And the present revival movement is the sign that countless people are beginning to understand what the two million dead heroes are : the martyrs of a new myth, of a new faith.

The place of the splendid dress uniform has been taken by the field-grey garb of honour, by the austere steel helmet. The dreadful crucifixes of the Baroque and Rococo periods, exhibiting distorted limbs at all the street corners, are gradually being crushed out by war memorials, severe in style. On them stand inscribed the names of those men who, as sign of the

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eternal myth of blood and will, died for what our nation values most—the honour of the German name.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

What a use could be made of the Peace Treaty of Versailles ! How that instrument of unbounded exploitation and shameful humiliation could be made in the hands of a resolute government by means of whipping-up national passion to feverish heat ! How these sadistic cruelties could be utilized by an ingenious propaganda to rouse a people from indifference to indignation and from indignation to blazing fury ! How every one of the terms of the Treaty could be burned into the brains and hearts of this people until at last the common sense of shame and the common hate in the souls of sixty million men and women became a single fiery ocean from whose flames surged up a will of iron and the cry burst forth : ‘ We will have arms once more ! ’ Yes, indeed, it is for this that such a Peace Treaty could be used ! In its extravagant oppression and its shameless claims lies the greatest propagandist weapon for reawakening the slumbering life-spirit of a nation.

For that, it is true, all printed matter from the child’s primer to the last newspaper, every theatre, every cinema, every advertisement pillar, every hoarding, must be pressed into the service of this single grand mission, until the anguished prayer of our confederated patriots, ‘ Lord, set us free ! ’ is transformed in the brain of the tiniest child into the fervid prayer : ‘ Almighty God, bless our arms in the future ; be just as Thou hast ever been ; decide now whether we yet deserve freedom : Lord, bless our battle ! ’

(But) everything has been neglected and nothing

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done. Is it to be wondered at if our people is not what it should be and could be, if the rest of the world regards us as a mere rabble—an obsequious hound thankfully licking the hands that have struck it? . . .

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

If you hear the word 'Versailles,' then blush with shame ;

That is the word that deprived us of our honour.
If you hear the word 'Versailles,' clench your fist ;
That is the word which lacerated our Fatherland.

From a school song.

Versailles is a lie,
Versailles is dishonour and shame,
Versailles is thy death,
O Fatherland !

You are a German child,
You must therefore think,
What the enemy did to you
In Versailles.

The day is coming, the day is coming,
The day is coming soon,
When the sun of freedom will shine.
Then you will grip the weapon,
Then you will hold the gun,
Then you will fight for Germany's holy honour.
Remember, Remember, Remember.

From a song sung in schools on the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

No amount of whining for release from the burdens of Versailles can help us. It leads to nothing and only makes us ridiculous unless we take our fate in our

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own hands, and begin first of all to work on our own moral preparedness and on our knowledge of war. Let no one doubt it for one moment : *between our present suffering and our future happiness lies war*. However, war to-day is no longer a cheerful and lively campaign with regimental music, waving banners and a cornucopia of medals ; it is a bloody struggle, and, in particular, a vast expenditure of material. War means gas and plague, renunciation and self-sacrifice. . . . We must not therefore paint war in rosy colours. We don't want war, but we are convinced that it will come, and that the path to our liberty can go only through the fire of war.

PROFESSOR E. BANSE : *Wehrwissenschaft*, 1933.

There is nothing more important than education designed to rouse military consciousness and to make the people realize the necessity of national defence. For the sake of military science other branches of study must be sacrificed if necessary ; for it is more important that the German child is instructed in the basic questions of military technique and of the military situation in France than that it knows of the conditions of the life of frogs or of the agrarian affairs of the Ancient Romans.

PROFESSOR E. BANSE : *Die Deutsche Schule*, 1933.

Everything which in former times showed lack of unity in objective—class-warfare, pride of rank, alien and antiquated educational requirements, teaching in isolation, false patience and lack of responsibility—the whole pedagogical experience of such an age is without validity and insignificant in the judgment of

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the educational outlook of a Totalitarian state. . . .
Only when the pure forces of a distinctive people are recognised as absolute values do we get the Totalitarian state, and only in it is the guarantee provided for the uninterrupted development of youth.

PROFESSOR HANS ZIEGLER : *Wehrerziehung im Neuen Geiste (The New Spirit of Military Education)*, 1933.

Flame ! Your glowing purity,
Shall witness our Oath,
Never to be broken :
Fight shall be our slogan
Until united again,
Germany rises from chain
And Fetters !
The Drums are beating ;
Better to be in the grave than in slavery !
Freedom or Death !

Flame ! reduce
The alien barriers,
Which still separate brother from brother,
We want to become one
In thought and deed.
One people, which, jubilant
Acclaims the Leader !
Bugles are sounding :
Better to be in the grave than in slavery !
Freedom or Death !

Flame ! set alight
The hearts of all of us,
Throw us like fiery torches,
Into the country !

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A rising will be born
By misery and suffering,
One huge 'Sonnenwende' fire
Will flare !
Flags are already flying :
Better to be in the grave than in slavery !
Freedom or Death !

Song sung at a solstice festival called
'*Sonnenwende*,' quoted in Friends of
Europe monthly survey, 1935.

The present misery burns it into the hearts of every German that even the smallest sacrifice offered during the world war meant self-denial for 80 millions, and, by the very fact of these sacrifices, these 80 millions belonged together for ever and ever. . . . To-day the abstract enthusiasm for the 'Fatherland,' in spite of parliaments and politicians, becomes . . . a mystical and real experience. . . . The atoms, the individuals in the people, begin to co-ordinate as *one* unit. . . . This also means the hour of birth for the poet of the world war. Like all others, he will know that the two million heroes who died in the war . . . are those who really live, for they died for the Honour and Freedom of Germany. This is the only source of a renaissance of our soul and at the same time it represents the only value before which *all* Germans will bow without any reluctance. To a new generation the war memorials . . . will become new religious shrines of worship where German hearts will be moulded again and again in the spirit of the new *Mythus*.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

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No one who surveys the experience of the war (1914-18) can refrain from asking whether some spiritual defects were not the cause of our failure or whether we willed the impossible and thus foundered. Perhaps it was our fault that we were overcome with the romanticism of past ages, that we regarded history as an heroic Epic and wanted to experience it again, when in fact the essential struggle is that of an economic character.

The war-hero of to-day must be a cold thinker with the insight of a statesman. He must be able to produce cannons as well as shoot them. It was German destiny to recognize this too late. We wanted to play at being a World Power before we were it. The *next time* we must concentrate everything on being World Power, before giving a visible demonstration of ourselves.

PROFESSOR E. BANSE : *Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg*, 1932.

Germany has been done out of the reward for the sacrificial death of two million brave warriors. Since the 30th December, 1933, Germany has expunged the idea of pacifism from the dictionary. Erstwhile German art has no comprehension of the old soldier's song : ' There is no finer death than dying on the battlefield.' It did not understand the old Teutonic horror of dying in one's bed. In spite of all its bitterness and pain, war signifies to the warriors the great smelting-furnace of national solidarity.

VON PAPEN, Speech, 1934.

A large part of our people for many years after the war had no longer the strength and courage to endure

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the truth that also in the future wars might come. With this uncomfortable fact one could not make oneself inwardly ready. One saw the armaments round about, but looked over the top of them ; indeed, one could not yet see them. So deep was the spiritual exhaustion !

Only to-day is our people slowly learning to look this truth in the face and with a steady, deadly seriousness our entire youth begins again in its thought about the future to reckon with the possibility of war and to ask : ' What will it be like ? Shall we be able to prove our mettle ? How shall we be inwardly ready for it ? '

It was not easy for the soldier in the late war to master the experience. He had to throw off pre-war civic ideas. Many gods and demi-gods of the established world-order had to be destroyed before he was equal to the new situation and could master what was till then a completely unknown destiny. The world out of which they came must seem strange to them. For the *bourgeois* world is a world without death. Such men think of their own safety, use, enjoyment and comfort, culture and progress, sometimes, too, of their pure personal contribution. Seldom, however, do they put the welfare of the Community before their own ; seldom are they ready for great sacrifice and never live in steady readiness for death.

The man at the front is he who lives under the sign of death—a steadily menacing death for others. . . . The front-line soldier lives his life without many words and entirely without catchwords. He has no use for speeches about heroism and the sacrifice of death. He lives the other side of pretence. . . . He lives purely. His words are genuine. Who has been a

front-line soldier can never get away from it. Field-grey cloth is an ultimate garment : it abides. . . .

PROFESSOR HANS ZIEGLER : *Wehrerziehung im Neuen Geiste* (*The New Spirit of Military Education*), 1933.

God has created me a German. To be a German is a gift from God. God wants me to fight for Germany. War service is never a violation of the Christian conscience ; it is obedience to God. The faithful have the right to revolt against a state which promotes the powers of darkness. They have the same right against a Church authority which does not endorse without reservation the National Rising. The state of Adolf Hitler calls for the Church. The Church must heed the call.

From the Resolution passed at the National Conference of the German Christians, 1933.

The German nation is simply out to discover at last its own style of living, a style of living that is fundamentally distinguished from what is called British Liberalism. . . . It is the style of a marching column, no matter where or to what end this marching column may be directed.

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Gestaltung der Idee*.

A victorious state, which allowed the defeated state to restore its industry and carry on the economic struggle, would have risked its own existence for nothing. The only reward of victory which can compensate for such sacrifice is the absolute removal of the defeated state from further rivalry, its destruction as an independent economic power. The enemy must

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no longer carry on production, must not create new difficulties by a revival of competition, must not be in the position, through ownership of efficient industry, to make another war, perhaps with more success. The enemy must be destroyed—and buried. This, and this alone, means victory.

Deutsche Wehr, 1935.

The man who really and sincerely wishes for the victory of pacifism must strive by every means for the conquest of the world by the Germans. If the opposite happened, then with the death of the last German might well come too the death of the last pacifist ; for the rest of the world has never fallen so deep as unfortunately our people, into that folly which is contrary both to nature and reason. Therefore, for better or worse, with stern determination one must decide to wage war in order to achieve pacificism.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

When two conceptions or ideas come into conflict it is force which, if applied with sufficient ruthlessness and obstinacy, decides the issue. . . . The great revolutions of this world were not brought about by intelligence or knowledge, but by some form of fanaticism which was able to inspire the masses and drive them forward in a hysterical trance . . . the problem of restoring Germany's power is not a question of how can we manufacture arms, but rather a question of how we can inspire that spirit which enables a people to bear arms. Once this spirit prevails among a people, then it will find a thousand ways each of which leads to the necessary armament.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

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No other country in the world surpasses Germany in the systematic adjustment of economic life to military requirements. Germany's economic life is completely dominated by the war-like spirit.

DR. RUDOLF BRINCKMANN.

A man unfit for military duty is a burden to the Army and to the state.

COLONEL WALTER JOST.

Iron has always made an empire strong ; butter only makes people fat. . . . Either we bought butter and went without freedom or we achieved freedom and did without butter. We decided for Iron.

GÖRING.

The German Renaissance has two main duties : (1) to raise the German soul from the depths—culturally and politically—and to see that only German is thought, spoken and acted in German territories ; (2) to establish the territory of the German people in its entire extent within a powerful and consolidated state, which is not comprised, by far, within the boundaries of 1914.

To gain these ends must become the permanent preoccupation of every German. That which a man and a people desire with every fibre of their soul to attain, they will attain. For there is no power on earth which is stronger than the human will !

The task of renewal must extend over every field of life. Indeed, there is a quite new field of activity which builds a bridge between brain and hand, mind and sword,—that is Military Science (*Wehrwissenschaft*), which puts scientific thought and creative

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effort in the service of the defence of the Fatherland. Every branch of human knowledge must be drawn upon from chemistry to individual psychology.

We must not lose another German war through ignorance. Wars will not be fought merely with weapons—but with corn and meat, fat and oil, iron and nickel, cotton and wool, railways and road transport, with space and air-pressure, with character and soul. . . . Yes, the soul in a real sense is the most powerful element of all. . . . It is the stronger character and the harder heart which wins out. . . . The preparation of future wars therefore must include spiritual as well as material preparation. In 1914 we had an excellent army, but the scientific mobilization was bad, and the spiritual preparation was entirely lacking. . . .

Military science is (therefore) concerned primarily with the whole people and seeks to build up an heroic spiritual attitude towards war. . . . This military science takes on the aspect of a national philosophy and claims to be the first and leading science in German territories, in which is gathered together every German will, capacity and effort for the establishment of the new structure.

PROFESSOR E. BANSE : *Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg*, 1932.

Under the impression of the events of the World War, the famous maxim of Clausewitz to the effect that war is the continuation of politics with other means, has now been reversed to read that peace is the continuation of war with other means. The idea being that even in peace-time the ideological, political, economic, financial and military-technical

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struggle of the nation continues uninterruptedly, and that often, even before hostilities have broken out this struggle experiences phases of intensification when certain features of a threatening war can be clearly recognized.

It is quite true that warfare has many changing faces and forms—consider, for instance, the forms of warfare in Spain and in the Far East. However, despite, or rather just because of, all these confusing and changing specific phenomena we must never lose sight of the fact that war is an inseparable whole. There is no such thing as diplomatic, financial or economic war ; there is no land, sea or air war as independent factors, but only war as such (i.e. total war). . . .

VICE-ADMIRAL GROOS in Military
Year Book, 1939.

There never was a time when Germany had such splendid prospects as to-day of achieving a dominating position in the world. Apart from our military and economic potential, Germany to-day has a political and military leadership of such excellence as she never possessed before, and this leadership thoroughly appreciates its enemies in the military and, better still, in the political spheres. In a nutshell, the whole scum which opposed us in our fight in Germany is fighting us now in the international field. It has always been their characteristic that they have excelled in illusions but never were strong enough to face the facts.

GOEBBELS, 1940.

IX

THE NAZI VIEW OF SOVIET RUSSIA

THOSE who wield power in Russia to-day have no honest intention of entering into any alliance or of keeping it in honourable fashion. We must not forget that the rulers of Russia to-day are bloodstained common criminals ; that here we have to deal with a scum of humanity. . . . One concluded no treaty with a party whose sole interest is the destruction of the other.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

Soviet Russia is no ally in the struggle for liberty of the German nation. Looked at from a purely military point of view, a war with Germany—Russia against the west of Europe, but more likely against the whole world, would be an overwhelming catastrophe. The struggle would be fought not on Russian but on German soil without Germany receiving any real support from Russia. The very fact of forming an alliance with Russia would be the signal for a new war, and the result of that would be the end of Germany.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

Fate itself seems to wish to give us our direction. When fate abandoned Russia to Bolshevism it robbed the Russian people of the educated class which once

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created and guaranteed their existence as a state. The Germanic element may now be regarded as entirely wiped out in Russia. The Jew has taken its place. It is impossible for the Russian to shake off the Jewish yoke by his own strength as it is for the Jew to keep control of the vast Empire for any length of time. His character is not that of an organizer, but of a decomposing leaven. The immense Empire will one day collapse. . . .

The present-day rulers of Russia have no intention of entering into any alliance for a long period. . . .

The menace which Russia suffers under is one which perpetually hangs over Germany ; Germany is the next great objective of Bolshevism.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

In 1917, the ' Russian Man ' was set free at last. He split up into two parts. The *Nordic* Russian blood was exhausted ; the Eastern-Mongolian blood took charge ; it called on the Chinese, on the peoples of the Desert, on Jews and Armenians, who pushed themselves forward into leading positions ; and Lenin, the Tartarian Kalmuck, became ruler. This demoniacal blood instinctively rebelled against everything upright, manly and *Nordic*. . . . Whatever the end of the Russian experiment may be, Bolshevism could only come to power within a people which was mentally and racially unstable, a people which could not make up its mind to stand for honour but only for bloodless ' love.' Whoever wants a new Germany therefore will refuse the Russian temptation together with its exploitation by Jews. The tide has already turned. The future will reveal the result.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

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. . . . Now Russia, after suffering in 1916 its second great defeat, from the west, has removed its 'white' mask, to the mocking satisfaction of its ally England; has again become Asiatic with all its soul, and is filled with a burning hatred of Europe. It took with it the experiences of Europe's internal weakness and used its knowledge to invent new and crafty methods of fighting, which it has instilled into the whole of the earth's coloured population, with the idea of a common resistance. . . .

The Marxian face is only worn for the benefit of the outside world; for Southern Asia, Africa, America, where it is desired to let loose and direct rebellion against the white powers. A new Asiatic stratum of rulers has taken over from the semi-westerns. It again lives in the villas and palaces round Moscow, keeps its staff of servants, and already permits itself to indulge in a barbaric luxury worthy of predatory Mongolian Khans of the fourteenth century.

OSWALD SPENGLER : *The Hour of Decision*, 1934.

It is to the lasting credit to the Führer that the whole world has already acknowledged that he has set up on the frontier of Germany a barrier against the assaults of Bolshevism in the east, and has thereby become the spiritual pioneer of Europe in his crusade against the subversive forces of destruction and anarchy.

GOEBBELS.

Soviet Russia has not only become the greatest military power, but at the same time the embodiment of an idea. How such ideas had worked when combined with great strength we know only too well

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from the French Revolution. And Germany has learnt but a few years ago, from the example of its own body politics, the monstrous danger of contagion that Bolshevism brings with it. Thus we see ourselves in a position which is extremely dangerous. Pictures of distraught insecure governments on the one side, and the gigantic Soviet block, which is territorially, militarily and economically enormously strong on the other side. The dangers which arise from this are perhaps at the moment not clearly recognized by all, and have not yet come into the light of day with such clarity as they have here. But if this evolution goes any further, if the decomposition in Europe becomes more pronounced, and the strengthening of Soviet power continues at the same rate as hitherto, what will the position be in ten, twenty, or thirty years?

HITLER, in an interview with
Lord Londonderry, 1936.

We are building our form of Socialism, the Russians theirs; but in our fight against the democratic-capitalistic world we are at one. The advantage for the future which each partner will derive from the association is a guarantee of its permanency and reliability. Anyone with any perspicacity can see that Germany's approach to Russia is no passing phenomenon, but a fundamental development of immense and historic importance.

The idea is one which has been dear for years to German military thought. It takes as axiomatic that the borderland between Europe and Asia is the joint sphere of influence of Germany and Russia. Interference by the Western Powers in this area is equivalent to aggression. Their exclusion is an act

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of defence—defence of vital interests. . . . War against Germany is a threat to Russia.

United, Germany and Russia are invincible. They complete one another in the happiest way. The combination of Germany's gift for organization and the inexhaustible material resources of the Russian soil. . . .

COLONEL VON NIEDERMAYER in the *Militärwissenschaftliche Rundschau*. From *The Times*.

We look upon Bolshevism as upon an intolerable danger to the world ; we shall try to keep this danger away from the German people by every means at our command ; we are therefore endeavouring to make the German people as immune as possible from this contagion. For this it is necessary that we should avoid all close contacts with the bearers of these poisonous bacilli. . . . Any treaty links between Germany and present day Bolshevistic Russia would be without any value whatsoever. . . .

HITLER, *Reichstag* Speech, 1937.

The anti-Comintern Pact will perhaps one day become the crystallization point of a group of powers whose ultimate aim is none other than to eliminate the menace to the peace and civilization of the world instigated by a satanic apparition.

HITLER, *Reichstag* Speech, 1939.

Marxism is not a genuine German or Western movement for freedom. . . . To extirpate from German life Marxist materialism and its support by finance-capital as a Syrian-Jewish alien product, is the great mission of the new movement of German

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workers. Those who are in the fight for this end will receive their just reward by being enlisted among the leaders of the German future.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Marxism propounds three repugnant theses : first, denial of the value of personality ; second, denial of the right to private property ; third, destruction of all human culture and of every higher form of economy (since this must always presuppose private possession.)

HITLER, Speech, 1923.

You and I, we fight against one another without being real enemies. In so doing we dissipate our strength and never reach our goal. Perhaps real need will bring us together. Perhaps ! We young men, you and I, are the bearers of the fate of generations. Let us never forget this. I greet you !

GOEBBELS : *Völkischer Beobachter*, November 14, 1925. Open letter to the leaders of the Moscow Bolsheviks.

This Congress [the Nuremberg Party Rally, 1936] will develop the great thesis and antithesis of the century—Bolshevism and National Socialism.

RUDOLF HESS.

There are two aspects of the Liberal economic system : refusal to accept any responsibility towards the national interests of the people, and complete disinterestedness in face of all social problems. The one leads to the steady decline in political development of those countries which have opened their

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doors to Liberalism ; and the other must necessarily breed Marxism which then logically develops into Communism and Bolshevism and finally ends in chaos.

WALTER DARRÉ : from his Preface to *Das Ende des Liberalismus in der Wirtschaft* (*The End of Liberalism in the Economic Field*).

The paradox of democracy and of Marxism lies in the fact that both are materialist conceptions of a most brutal and infamous character. At the same time, both of them solemnly declare their . . . sympathy and pity towards all those who are oppressed and exploited. The proletarian readiness to offer sacrifices is thus exploited in order to make it dependent upon its leaders. The ideas of 'Sacrifice' and 'Love' play the same rôle both in the Marxist and in the Roman Catholic systems. Blood and Honour were insulted and scorned by the Marxist leaders until, at last, these ineradicable ideas broke forth in the working class. To-day at last . . . the idea of 'proletarian honour' is spreading. The idea of honour . . . one day will help the workers to get rid of the mob of disgraceful Marxist leaders. If, out of this conception of class-honour, the idea of national honour will develop, then the day of German freedom will dawn.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Under democracy brainy heads are swamped by numbers ; under Bolshevism these heads are severed by the guillotine. The result remains the same—the brains are lacking. The international Jew can erect an international receivership of terrorism and money over a leaderless people. The defence against Jewish

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aspirations for world dominance is growing more solid among the nations.

When the old and energetic man stands up to fight this Bolshevist danger in Europe, he is howled at for being bribed by National Socialism or Fascism. . . . We have no intention of exporting National Socialism on the contrary it is patented for Germany.

I am unable to understand the attitude of well known politicians and churchmen abroad. It is as if the world has completely closed its eyes to the fact that the Moscow Comintern is trying to make Spain try-out for the world revolution. In Spain, Moscow is holding a roll-call of its satellites. . . .

Bolshevists are not human beings. A mysterious destiny has let them loose on the world to torment the peoples and this will probably also wake the peoples up again.

Bolshevism intends to make Spain a platform for revolutionizing Western Europe and a base for its army and navy in Western Europe and the Western Mediterranean. This is an acute danger for Europe.

The enemy is in our midst. He must only be recognized in order to defeat him.

For this reason alone we are raising our voice in order to draw the attention of the world to this menace to mankind. . . .

If those responsible, and the people themselves would recognize this deadly disease, then the whole of Europe would rise and throw off this plague.

We will do our best to help Europe in this. At the time of Germany's great humiliation we stood up and shouted 'Germany, wake up!' Now we German National Socialists step on to the platform of Europe it is Europe which must now wake up.

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We Germans, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, take on us a new world mission. The fight has begun for Fatherland, liberty, honour, family and religion.

A new Europe is arising, a Europe of self-respect, decency, honour, liberty and mutual understanding.

GOEBBELS, Speech, 1937.

The putrefying corpse which is Russia will never be an effective ally for France.

HITLER to Otto Strässer.

The nation that allies itself with Russia becomes by that fact the enemy of Germany.

HITLER: *Mein Kampf*.

I do not fear permeation with revolutionary Communist propaganda. But Russia, whether she is to be a partner or an enemy, is our equal and must be watched. Germany and Russia are in an extraordinary fashion complementary to each other. They are made for each other, I might almost say. And danger for us is that we may be absorbed, that we may lose our identity as a nation.

HITLER to Rauschning, 1934.

Germany to-day is a National-Socialist state. The ideology by which we are governed is diametrically opposed to that of Soviet Russia. National Socialism is a doctrine which concerns the German people alone, but Bolshevism lays emphasis on its international mission.

We National Socialists believe that man can only

be happy in his own nation. It is our firm conviction that the happiness and the achievements of Europe are indissolubly connected with the existence of free, independent national states. Bolshevism preaches the establishment of a World Empire and recognizes only sections of a central Internationale.

We National Socialists recognize that every people has the right to its own inner life according to its own needs and character. Bolshevism, on the other hand, lays down doctrinaire theories, to be accepted by all nations without regard to their particular qualities, talents, etc.

National Socialism advocates the solution of social problems, questions and difficulties in its own nation by methods which are compatible with general human, spiritual, cultural and economic ideas, and in conformity with its traditions and conditions. Bolshevism aims at international class warfare and world revolution with the weapons of terror and force.

National Socialism fights for the bridging over conflicting national interests and consequent levelling down the contrasts of life and for the inclusion for all to perform common tasks. Bolshevism advocates the overthrow of the rule of one privileged class by means of forcible dictatorship of another.

National Socialism attaches no value to a purely theoretical rule of the working-class, but lays all the more value on the practical improvement of the conditions of their existence and standard of living. Bolshevism fights for a theory and sacrifices for it millions of human beings, destroys incalculable cultural and traditional values, and achieves, in comparison with us, only a very low standard of living for all.

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As National Socialists we have profound admiration and respect for the great achievements of the past, not only in our own nation but far beyond it. We are happy to belong to a European community of culture which has impressed on the modern world to so large an extent the stamp of its spirit. Bolshevism rejects this cultural achievement of humanity and asserts that real culture and human history began in the year in which Marxism was born.

We National Socialists may, perhaps, not have the same views as our ecclesiastical organizations in respect of this or that question, but we never want to see a lack of religion and faith and do not wish to see our Churches turned into clubrooms and cinemas. Bolshevism teaches Godlessness and acts accordingly.

We National Socialists see in private property a higher grade of economic development . . . which guarantees for all the advantage of a higher standard of living. Bolshevism destroys not only private property, but also private initiative and pleasure and responsibility. In this way it has not been able to save millions of men from misery and even starvation in Russia, the greatest agrarian state in the world.

One could continue all this interminably. Both we, National Socialists and the Bolsheviks, are convinced that there is a gulf between us which can never be bridged. Moreover, there are more than four hundred murdered National Socialists comrades between us; there are thousands of further National Socialists who have fallen in other organizations for the prevention of Bolshevik revolt, thousands of soldiers and policemen who have been shot and massacred in the fight for the protection of the *Reich* and the states from the everlasting Communist up-

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risings, and then more than forty-three thousand wounded of the N.S.D.A.P. Thousands of them have been either blinded, or are crippled for their whole life.

So far as Bolshevism as a purely Russian affair is concerned, we have no interest in it whatever. Every nation must seek its salvation in its own way. So far, however, as this Bolshevism draws Germany into its clutches, we are its deadliest and most fanatical enemies.

Both we, National Socialists and the Bolsheviks, are convinced that there is a gulf between us which can never be bridged.

HITLER, *Reichstag Speech*, 1935.

I am particularly anxious about the whole future development of the Soviet system in Russia. It seems to be my rôle to play now internationally, as I did in Germany fifteen years ago, the part of the prophet who was derided at first, but whose prophecies have later been fulfilled. In the same way to-day, my fears with regard to the future development of Soviet politics are on many sides considered to be exaggerated. . . . Europe and the whole world are on the point of plunging into a catastrophe of the same kind [referring to the situation which existed before the French Revolution]. The dangers are frequently not realized. I have never in the whole of my political career pursued such an ostrich policy ; but I have always faced the facts clearly and undismayed. These methods have proved themselves to be extraordinarily successful, and I believe therefore that to-day it is necessary, in regarding the inter-

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national situation, to have the same open and candid realization of the truth in order to avoid the catastrophe.

HITLER, at an interview with
Lord Londonderry, 1936.

Soviet Russia is the exponent, organized into a state, of a revolutionary philosophy. The introduction into Central Europe of this mighty military factor destroys any real European Balance of Power.

HITLER, *Reichstag* Speech, 1936.

I shall keep that [a temporary pact with Russia] as a trump card. . . . But it will never stop me from as firmly retracing my steps and attacking Russia when my aims in the West have been achieved. . . . We alone can conquer the great continental space and it will be done by us . . . alone, not through a pact with Moscow. . . . The struggle will open to us the door to permanent mastery of the world. That does not mean that I shall refuse to walk part of the road together with the Russians, if that will help us. But it will be only in order to return the more swiftly to our true aims.

HITLER to Rauschning, 1934.

You know that Russia and Germany are governed by two different doctrines. . . . Germany has no intention of exporting its doctrines. Given the fact that Soviet Russia has no intention of exporting its doctrine to Germany, I no longer see any reason why we should still oppose one another. . . . (Moreover) any struggle between our peoples would only be of advantage to others. . . . At the same time I should

like to declare that this political decision means a tremendous departure for the future, and that it is final. Russia and Germany fought against one another in the World War. That shall and will not happen again.

HITLER, *Reichstag*, Speech, September, 1939.

In one respect the resolve of Germany is unalterable, namely, to introduce in the East of our *Reich* peaceful, stable and thus bearable conditions. . . .

Germany and Soviet Russia have for this reason agreed on a clearly marked boundary between their two spheres of interests, with the determination that each should be responsible for peace and order in its own sphere. . . .

The most important task is to bring about a new order of ethnographical relationships, that is to say a resettlement of nationalities. . . .

The aim of the foreign policy of the *Reich* which I conduct has always been merely to secure to the German nation its existence and its life. . . .

Why should there be any war in the West? For the restoration of Poland? The Poland of the Versailles Treaty will never rise again. Two of the greatest states in the world guarantee that. . . . If this war is really to be waged in order to give Germany a new régime to smash the present rule and create a new Versailles, then millions of human beings will be sacrificed again; for neither will the German *Reich* break to pieces nor will a second Versailles emerge. . . . This war in the West will not settle any problems at all, except perhaps the finances of certain international war profiteers. . . .

If, sooner or later, these [Europe's] problems must be

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settled, then it would be more reasonable to proceed with the settlement before millions of people lose their lives for no purpose, and millions worth of property is destroyed.

HITLER, *Reichstag* Speech, October, 1939.

I sincerely believe that the Russian and German régimes have succeeded in achieving something which is certainly beneficial for both peoples; and they are far too wise to bleed themselves only for the sake of the stockbrokers and Jews in London.

HITLER, *Reichstag* Speech, February, 1940.

The origin of this settlement [between Germany and Russia] was that England and France . . . always insinuated that Germany intended to conquer areas which lie outside all German interests. Sometimes it was asserted that Germany had plans to occupy the Ukraine . . . and at another time it was given out that Rumania was to be threatened by us. . . . In view of these circumstances I considered it necessary first of all to arrive at a sober settlement of interests with Russia and to make clear for ever what Germany considers as her sphere of interest and what Russia considers essential for her existence. This clear delimitation of the spheres of interest of both resulted in a resettlement of Russo-German relations. Any hope that new German-Russian tension may intervene is infantile. Neither Germany nor Russia has overstepped its sphere of interests.

HITLER, *Reichstag* Speech, July 1940.

The pious and Bible-believing Mr. Chamberlain tried hard last year to conclude an alliance with

Russia, but he did not succeed. Now I understand very well how furious the British are that I have done what Mr. Chamberlain tried to do and I also understand that what in Mr. Chamberlain would have been a God-pleasing action is a Godless one on my part. But the Almighty will be well pleased, I am sure, that in one large area at least a senseless struggle has been avoided.

For centuries past Germany and Russia lived in friendship side by side. Why should that not be possible in the future too? I say that it will be possible because both peoples wish it so; and each attempt to make it impossible will be frustrated because the motives of such an attempt will be clearly understood by everyone. Thus in the first place, Germany became politically free at her back-door, and our second task was to make her militarily free also.

HITLER, Speech, at the Seventh Anniversary
of the Nazi Régime, 1940.

X

THE MEANING OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

WE acknowledge that National Socialism is the faith that alone can bring blessedness to our people.

A Party Slogan.

National Socialism is humanity's greatest experience. It is man gloriously in search of his soul. . . .

The idea of National Socialism is to be regarded as an accomplishment of the human soul that ranks with the Parthenon, the Sistine Madonna, and the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

National Socialism is a theory of the world, standing in sharp opposition to the present-day world of capitalism and its Marxist and middle-class satellites. Our life is a struggle in the service of this great idea, a struggle for a new Germany. We National Socialists wave our storm banner before the world. Ever young, shining and glittering in the sun, rises the Swastika, the Hooked Cross, the symbol of reawakening life.

GOTTFRIED FEDER : *The German State*, 1919.

The ideal of politics would be to have no politics. But this non-politics would have to be frankly professed and imposed upon the world by force.

Nothing can be done as long as the parliamentary system rules. God knows that the Germans have no spark of talent for this system. Its prevalence I regard as the greatest misfortune, for it can only lead again and again into a morass and bring to naught all plans for restoring the Fatherland to health and lifting it up.

HOUSTON S. CHAMBERLAIN to Adolf Hitler, 1923.
From Wickham Steed's *Hitler: Whence and Whither?*

Our Führer's book contains for the present and for the future the final principles of National Socialism of which it is the very essence. It should become the Bible of the German people.

Völkischer Beobachter, Dec. 1933.

Either the world will be ruled according to the ideas of our modern democracy, and then every decision will fall in favour of the numerically strongest peoples ; or the world will be ruled according to the natural laws of force, in which case those nations will be victorious that have the more savage will-power ; nor will it be those who keep within their own boundaries. Nobody can doubt that mankind will still have to go through fearful struggles for existence. Ultimately only the instinct of self-preservation counts. Beside it so-called humane feelings that are a blend of stupidity, cowardice, and priggishness melt away like snow before the spring sun. Humanity has grown great by perpetual warfare—it would perish in an eternal peace.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

The National-Socialist movement does not want to be the defender of other nations, but the champion of

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Vorkämpfer of its own nation. . . . Especially we are not the police protector of weak small nations, but the soldiers of our own nation. In other words, National Socialism is not the champion of the general idea of nationalism, or of soul right belonging to other nations or races. It serves only its own nationalism and its own rights.

HITLER : *Mein Kampf*.

My Socialism is not the same thing as Marxism. My Socialism is not class war, but order. Whoever imagines Socialism as revolt and mass demagoguery is not a National Socialist. Revolution is not games for the masses. Revolution is hard work. The masses see only the finished product, but they are ignorant, and should be ignorant of the immeasurable amount of hidden labour that must be done before a new step forward can be taken. The revolution cannot be ended. It can never be ended. We are motion itself, we are eternal revolution. We shall never allow ourselves to be held down to one permanent condition.

HITLER to Rauschning, 1934.

Between genuine nationalism and genuine socialism there exists not conflict but community. Germany owes this well-founded synthesis to Hitler.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

Socialism begins where Marxism ends. German socialism is called to play a part in the spiritual and intellectual history of mankind by purging itself of every trace of liberalism. Liberalism was the unholy power of the nineteenth century which undermined

and destroyed the very basis of socialism, as it undermined and destroyed the very basis of every political philosophy and of every world-order. Liberalism is a product of occidentalism which still lurks in parliaments and calls itself democracy.

To bring this German socialism to birth is not the task of Germany's Third Empire. This new socialism must be the foundation of Germany's Third Empire.

MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK : *Germany's
Third Empire*, 1934.

The rise of National Socialism is the protest of a people against a state that denies the right to work and the revival of natural intercourse. If the machinery for distribution in the present economic system of the world is not capable of properly distributing the productive wealth of nature, then that system is false and must be altered. The important part of the present development is the anti-capitalist sentiment that is permeating our people, that has by now laid hold of something like 95 per cent of our people, consciously or unconsciously. This anti-capitalist sentiment is not in the least a refusal to recognize property acquired by personal labour and thrift and morally justifiable. Above all, it has no connexion with the senseless or destructive tendencies of the International. It is the protest of the people against a degenerate economic system ; and it demands from the State that, in order to secure its own right to live, it shall break with the demons Gold, World Economy, Materialism, and with the habit of thinking in export statistics and the bank rate, and shall be capable of restoring honest payment for honest labour. This anti-capitalist sentiment is a proof that we are on

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the eve of a great change—the conquest of Liberalism and the rise of new ways of economic thought and of a new conception of the State.

GREGOR STRASSER, Speech, 1932.

National Socialism is characterized by an heroic attitude towards all problems of existence. This heroic attitude derives from one single but all-decisive progression of faith, namely blood and character. Race and Soul are merely different designations for one and the same thing. This is paralleled by a rise of a new science, a new scientific discovery which we call race-science. From a high enough perspective this new science is discerned to be no more than a far-reaching attempt to attain German Self-consciousness.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

National Socialism, as the newly awakening workers' movement, will have to prove whether it is capable of presenting to the German workers as well as to the German people, not only a political idea but also an ideal of beauty, of manly strength and manly will, supreme values of the soul, and therewith the basis for an organic art . . . which flows through life and creates life.

ALFRED ROSENBERG.

National Socialism proceeded from an ideology. The core of this ideology was the people, the people's commonwealth. Therefore after the seizure of power, the Leader deliberately undertook two essential national tasks : the salvation of the peasantry and the emancipation of the worker from the grim spectre of unemployment. . . . If the people are to be helped

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in maintaining their existence, then the deficiencies of the last hundred years [in the national economic system] must now be rectified. We must link ourselves up again at that point where the organic growth of a homogeneous national economic system was broken off by the period of liberal development.

BACKE, in *Berliner Tageblatt*, 1938.

Power must be attained with the right means. National Socialism did not want a state based on the point of the bayonet, which, as Napoleon once said, is not a pleasant place for rulers. National Socialism wished to win the whole people. And the means of doing so was propaganda. . . .

National Socialism was victorious because it made the people politically active, bringing the burning questions of the day before the Man in the Street, making the results of his attitude clear to him, and persuading him to work for a principle, and not merely to think about his own business.

DR. G. KURT JOHANNESSEN :
Germany Speaks, 1938.

At critical periods in history all the tinsel falls away and the great rhythm of life alone rules the hour. I am restoring to force its original dignity, that of the source of all greatness and the creatrix of order.

HITLER to Rauschning.

The era of democracy is over, inexorably finished. We have been drawn into a movement which will carry us along with it whether we like it or not. If we resist, we shall be annihilated. If we stand aside, we shall die off. It is a choice between taking action or

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being destroyed.. Democracy is no longer the suitable political medium for the great decisions of the coming years. It is the happy fortune of Germany to have cast off this outworn political form in good time. This alone assures us supremacy over the Western European nations. Our opponents are destroying their development with the toxins of their own decaying organisms.

It is my historical achievement to have recognized this. My policy only seems dangerous ; it is not really so. Success will be mine because I have fathomed the weaknesses, including Marxism, of all the spurious great men of democracy and liberalism. . . . The secret of National Socialist success is its recognition of the irrevocable passing of the *bourgeoisie* and their political ideals.

Democracy is a poison which disintegrates the body of the nation, and its action is the more deadly the more naturally strong and healthy the nation it infects. In the course of time, the old democracies have become more or less immune from this poison, and might have gone on vegetating under its influence for another decade or so. But for Germany, a young, unspoiled nation, the poison is instantly fatal.

HITLER to Rauschning.

Democracy has no convictions. Genuine convictions, I mean, for which people would be willing to stake their lives. That is Hitler's fundamental discovery, and it forms the starting-point for his great and daring policies, which will always prove to be right. Fear and personal advantage will in every case, sooner or later, lead to capitulation. In every country there are all the people we shall need to set in motion any desired movement in any level of society or education.

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Once a beginning has been made, the rest will follow of its own accord. Lack of conviction always results in defeatism : resistance is useless.

HANFSTÄENGEL to Rauschning.

To National Socialism, one soul is *not* like another soul and one man is *not* equal to another. Its aim is the strong German man ; it confesses to the defence of this German, and everything else—law, society, politics, economics—have to serve this purpose. Only a confession of the inequality of man, but at the same time of the relentless defence of the life of the nation, will create the possibility of political freedom for enslaved Germany.

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Blut und Ehre*
(*Blood and Honour*), 1934.

The racial principles of National Socialism are, therefore, the surest guarantee for respecting the integrity of other nations. It is incompatible with our ideas to think of incorporating other nationalities in a Germany built up as a result of conquests, as they would always remain—because of their alien blood and spirit—a foreign body within the German State. Such foolhardy thoughts may be indulged in by a world which has as its goal economic power or purely territorial expansion of its frontiers, but never by a statesman thinking along organic, racial lines whose main care is the preserving of the greatness and along with it the essential unity of his people, held together by the ties of blood relationship.

For this reason, we have nothing in common with chauvinism and imperialism because we would extend to other races peopling the earth the same privileges

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we claim for ourselves : the right to fashion our lives and our own particular world according to the requirements of our nature.

DR. WALTER CROSS, in *Germany Speaks*, 1938.

The ' nation ' is a political expedient of democracy and Liberalism. We have to get rid of this false conception and set in its place the conception of race, which has not yet been politically used up. The new order cannot be conceived in terms of the national boundaries of the peoples with an historic past, but in terms of race that transcend those boundaries. All the adjustments and corrections of frontiers, and of regions of colonizations, are a ploughing of the sands.

HITLER to Rauschning.

The future belongs only to a nation which is united, strong, and healthy, a nation which is joyous and positive in its attitude to life. A downcast and dejected person will be baffled by the most trivial obstacles, but a robust vitality overcomes every mood of depression and opens up the path to the future. . . .

A nation, set in the heart of Europe in a restricted territory, with a low-yielding soil, can hold its own only by means of firm determination to achieve something great. We must therefore give every individual strength and joy to develop his capacities to the utmost. For this purpose we need not only physically strong, capable and healthy people, but also happy people who face life in a joyful spirit of acceptance. And so we reject humility and the theory of sin, and preach a philosophy of strength and pride and joy in life.

DR. LEY : *Report and Programme of Work*, 1937.

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The hunger which has seized upon the German people is not merely a physical hunger. It also extends to the soul and demands to be appeased. Like every great revolution, our revolution also aims at a revolutionary reconstruction of our cultural possessions and creative work. No criticism has touched us so deeply as the criticism that National Socialism is spiritual barbarism and must ultimately lead to the destruction of the cultural life of the German people. We have again released the creative forces of the nation. They can now develop unhindered and bear rich fruit on the tree of a recreated nationality.

GOEBBELS, speaking before the Intellectual Union in Warsaw, 1934.

Only very few know that National Socialism is much more dangerous to the present world than a 'Putzsch' (*coup d'état*). It is the herald of a new era for the whole of Europe, for the white race altogether. The German struggle has once more become a world struggle.

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Character, Principles and Aims of the National-Socialist Party*, 1922.

Liberalism is the philosophy of life from which German youth now turns with nausea, with wrath, and with a quite peculiar scorn, for there is none more foreign, more repugnant, more opposed to its own philosophy. German youth to-day recognizes the liberal as the *Enemy*.

MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK : *Germany's Third Empire*, 1934.

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In my great educative work I am beginning with the young. We older ones are used up. Yes, we are old already. We are rotten to the marrow. We have no unrestrained instincts left. We are cowardly and sentimental. We are bearing the burden of a humiliating past, and have in our blood the dull recollection of serfdom and servility. But my magnificent youngsters! Are there finer ones anywhere in the world? Look at these young men and boys! What material! With them I can make a new world. My teaching is hard. Weakness has to be knocked out of them. In my *Ordensburgen* a youth will grow up before which the world will shrink back. A violently active, dominating, intrepid, brutal youth—that is what I am after. Youth must be all those things. It must be indifferent to pain. There must be no weakness or tenderness in it. I want to see once more in its eyes the gleam of pride and independence of the beast of prey. Strong and handsome must my young men be. I will have them fully trained in all physical exercises. I intend to have an athletic youth—that is the first and the chief thing. In this way I shall eradicate the thousands of years of human domestication. Then I shall have in front of me the pure and noble natural material. With that I can create the new order. I will have no intellectual training. Knowledge is ruin to my young men. I would have them learn only what takes their fancy. But one thing they must learn—self-command! They shall learn to overcome the fear of death, under the severest tests. That is the intrepid and heroic stage of youth. Out of it comes the stage of the free man, the man who is the substance and essence of the world, the creative man, the god-man. In my *Ordensburgen* there will stand as a statue for worship

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the figure of magnificent, self-ordaining god-man ; it will prepare the young men for their coming period of ripe manhood.

HITLER to Rauschning.

We want to support nationalism as a force and other internal values for national regeneration only in those nations whose fateful development, we believe, will not come into conflict with the evolutionary processes of the German nation. . . . We know that under the principle of self-determination utterly worthless national elements could even ask for freedom ! But all this either does not concern us at all or only in so far as a far-sighted German policy can expect an increase of German strength from their exploitation.

ALFRED ROSENBERG : *Der Mythos*, 1930.

I can no longer carry on politics in the style of the *bourgeois* democracies and monarchies of the nineteenth century, with their totally obsolete rules and arms conventions. When has a revolutionary régime ever confined itself to the conventional limitations ? I am carrying on power politics, with the aid, if I choose, of naked ruthless force, and what earthly difference can there be between using every means of trickery and misrepresentation and ordering my armies to march ?

HITLER to Rauschning.

Nothing would be more erroneous than to assume that National Socialism, as a spiritual manifestation, is inspired with the ambition to extend its activities beyond the frontiers of the *Reich* and to carry out a spiritual expansion policy beyond the limits drawn by

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political conditions. It is deliberately content with the solution of the tasks allotted to it in the *Reich* at home and abroad.

GOEBBELS, Speech before the Intellectual Union in Warsaw, 1934.

Germany's revolution is not yet over : the smoothing of the paths, the rounding off, is just beginning. We know that every revolution produces a number of restless spirits who have to sow, as it were, their wild oats before they can adjust themselves to the new order of things. Our task is not over : it has only just begun. But we are pursuing a road that daily becomes clearer. We are in the midst of a time which is characterized by a will, surely everywhere perceptible, to create juster principles of religious brotherhood and freedom amongst the nations ; a *Weltanschauung* by which the arts are no longer regarded as belonging exclusively to the intellectuals, but as instruments in the hands of an all-pervading Power that guides our human destinies.

DR. HANS FRIEDRICH BLUNCK, in
Germany Speaks, 1938.

The future belongs to National Socialism since, like Christianity itself, it is founded on love, and reconciliation between high and low, rich and poor. Herein lies its special creative and effective power. Marxian Socialism, on the contrary, flourishes on class clash and hatred. It is anti-Christian and destructive.

The world will come to the recognition of all this in time. It may be decades will be required before the truth of the contention is established beyond cavil. Later generations will consider the period of Marxian

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Socialism as an interlude out of which purgatory the world emerges into the truer and beneficent conception of Adolf Hitler.

HEINZ A. HEINZ : *Germany's Hitler*, 1938.

National Socialism had thrown off the chains of slavery one by one and at last, in the union of Germans in Great Germany, had 'experienced the crowning of unique efforts and a millennial longing.' These measures had injured nobody ; they had only given the Germans what other nations had long possessed. Yet Jewish international capitalism, together with social reactionaries in the Western States, had managed to incite the democratic world against Germany.

HITLER, Proclamation, 1940.

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